

AD 733390

THE PUBLIC IMAGE OF THE MILITARY  
IN LEADING MAGAZINES  
(1968-1970)

A thesis presented to the faculty of the U.S. Army  
Command and General Staff College in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements of the  
degree

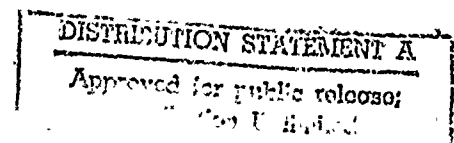
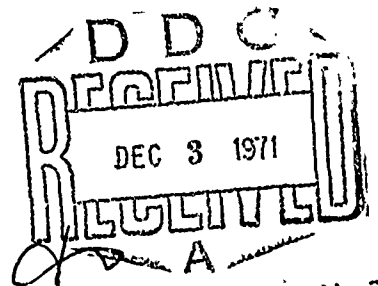
MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

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1971



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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the individual student author and do not necessarily represent the views of either the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to examine leading magazines and determine if they provided a balanced presentation of the military in terms of articles and excerpts published. The military affairs content of twenty-one general interest, large circulation magazines was analyzed and compared for the 1968-1970 time period to determine the balance of their coverage as well as that for individual magazines, separate military affairs topics and several specific types of coverage (letters, cartoons, book and movie reviews).

It was assumed that the content of the mass media both reflects and forms public opinion. The magazine segment of the media was selected for both methodological and practical reasons. The result of the content analysis was considered to indirectly reflect the status of the public image of the military for the time period examined.

The twenty-one magazines were selected on the basis of appropriate subject matter and circulation (greater than nine-hundred thousand). All military affairs subject material was generally included, with the exception of fiction and advertisements. The material was divided into six major subject areas (War, Military History, Vietnam War, Militarism, Personnel and Incidents) and thirty-seven subareas.

Two analysis units were used: articles, material covering one or more pages, and excerpts, material covering less than one page. All selected items were placed in one of four analysis categories: favorable, unfavorable, balanced, and neutral.

The overall results indicated an unfavorable imbalance of 12.8 percent. When circulation was included as a weighting factor the imbalance of item-issues rose to 14.5 percent. Exclusion of Vietnam War items and two separate modifications of the basic data to account for both the greater significance of articles versus excerpts and the relative academic value of the magazines provided little change in the overall results.

Grouping data for six month periods indicated a strong trend of increasing unfavorable imbalance, from 1.9 percent for July-December 1968 to 23.5 percent for July-December 1970.

Separate analysis of letters to the editor indicated no significant difference between this type of coverage and the total magazine coverage. These letters reflected in most instances the magazine's own editorial position. Examination of cartoons indicated that although they were generally unfavorable their use was too infrequent to represent a significant presentation of magazine editorial opinion.

The results for both movie and book reviews were heavily unfavorable when contrasted with those for the magazines. Considering these two types of coverage as representative of the book and movie media indicates that the magazine results, although unfavorable overall, still present an optimistic picture from a military point of view.

Three recommendations were made: to concentrate improvement on those facets of military affairs which received the most unfavorable magazine coverage, to make similar analyses for earlier periods in order

to place the current data in a more meaningful context, and to use content analysis in conjunction with any future paid advertising campaigns.

THE PUBLIC IMAGE OF THE MILITARY IN LEADING MAGAZINES (1968-1970)

LTC. Edmund A. Wilhelm, 1971, 174 pages.

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the cooler media.<sup>26</sup> "Pictures have an impact that words seldom have. They are immediate, vivid and produce nonverbal and emotional reaction."<sup>27</sup>

The choice of magazines was also governed by an obvious practical matter. A newspaper analysis would necessarily be of narrower scope since, as noted above, there are few national newspapers and their daily publication would make an extended review of each a rather formidable task. Because of their daily publication, newspapers are less discriminating and more repetitious whereas a periodical, published on a weekly or a monthly basis "...has to be much more selective; its editors have to make many more decisions about what subjects are really significant, and which ones will have some lasting influence in the years ahead."<sup>28</sup>

A most impressive precedent, for using the content analysis of magazines "...to illustrate the main currents of thought and feeling of the American people...",<sup>29</sup> was set by Frank L. Mott in his monumental five volume work, A History of American Magazines.

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<sup>26</sup>McLuhan considers print a hot medium since "...the printed page projects plenty of information; it comes in as high definition for one sense--but does not involve all the senses. By contrast... TV is a cool, low definition medium; that is, it provides a minimum of information--but involves all the senses at once." "The Message of Marshall McLuhan," Newsweek, LXIX, 10 (March 6, 1967), 56.

<sup>27</sup>Hohenberg, The News Media, op. cit., p. 216.

<sup>28</sup>Fischer, op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>29</sup>IV (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. vii.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In this age, and in this country, public sentiment is everything. With it nothing can fail; against it, nothing can succeed.<sup>1</sup>

Abraham Lincoln

### PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis was to examine leading magazines, and determine if they provided a balanced presentation of the military in terms of the number of articles and excerpts published. The military affairs content of twenty-one general interest, large circulation magazines was analyzed and compared for the 1968-1970 time period to determine the balance of their total coverage as well as that for individual magazines, separate military affairs topics and several specific types of coverage.

### SIGNIFICANCE

All facets of military affairs have been receiving extensive national exposure. Topics such as the draft, military justice and cost overruns recently generated widespread public debate. Frequently this debate resulted in criticism of the military.

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<sup>1</sup>Ralph B. Winn, Lincoln Dictionary (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), p. 104.

Antimilitarism is not a new phenomenon in the social or political life of America. But the scope and intensity of its present form are causes for particular concern. When asked if he was "... alarmed by the wave of antimilitarism from the 'new left'," General Westmoreland replied, "I am. I feel, if the trend continues, it could have very unfortunate effects."<sup>2</sup> General Wheeler, prior to his retirement as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, expressed even greater anxiety: "My main concern, above all others, is the attitude of the country toward the American military."<sup>3</sup> The reason for such concern is clear. A favorable image is necessary to maintain public support. Without public support, the military will have difficulty in accomplishing its mission.

Two recent military studies, the Report of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force and Career Motivation of Army Personnel--Junior Officer's Duties, noted the influence of public opinion upon career motivation.<sup>4</sup> A poor public image is never a military asset but if it does exist now, during the initial development period for an All-Volunteer Army, it becomes a most critical problem.

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<sup>2</sup>"Army Cutbacks--The Risks," U.S. News & World Report, interview with Gen. William C. Westmoreland, LXVII, 13 (September 29, 1969), 68.

<sup>3</sup>"Why Defense Planners Worry," U.S. News & World Report, interview with Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, LXVIII, 16 (April 20, 1970), 34.

<sup>4</sup>President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force, (New York: Collier Books, 1970), p. 47 and Department of the Army, Pamphlet 600-20, Junior Officer Retention. August 1, 1969, p. 43.

## PUBLIC OPINION

The concept of public opinion is difficult to define and its actual state even harder to measure. The term is commonly used but its definition is generally cast in a sense unique to the individual user.<sup>5</sup> A definition which provides the least semantic difficulty was used for this analysis. Public opinion is simply:

...the state of opinion within a public on certain issues or matters when there are differences as well as agreements. Public opinion is just the opinion of the members of a group plus their differences.<sup>6</sup>

Indirect indicators such as votes, polls and sales are frequently employed for the measurement of public opinion. The use of polls was initially examined but it was found that their frequency was insufficient, and more importantly, they would permit examination of only a small number of military affairs topics. The analysis of the content of mass media communications is another common measurement technique. In the classic description of the communication process, "he says what to whom, how, with what effect,"<sup>7</sup> content is the what.

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<sup>5</sup>"By different writers, public opinion has been used to mean the following: (1) group mind; (2) collective consciousness; (3) attitudes and opinions in the field of politics only; (4) unanimous opinions; (5) widespread beliefs, consensus, settled convictions; (6) social consciousness; (7) the sum total of all opinions, or mass thought; (8) the opinion of educated persons only; (9) the process of developing opinions rather than end products, and (10) only opinions reached as a result of rational thought." Curtis D. MacDougall, Understanding Public Opinion (Dubuque: William C. Brown, Co., 1966), p. 26.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952), p. 13.



A content analysis of mass media provided both the desired scope and currency.

Today's concept of public opinion is generally associated with the mass communication media: television, radio, newspapers, magazines, movies and books. The problem usually addressed in a content analysis is to determine the impact a particular medium has upon a selected segment of public opinion or vice versa. This thesis, in attempting to analyse the current public image of the military, assumed both interactions exist: that mass media both reflect and form public opinion. No attempt was made to separate them or their relative strengths.

The results of a content analysis suffer the basic defect of being indirect. Yet such measurements do not require the exactitude of the physical sciences to be of value.

Content analysis has been used to get at "the spirit of the age." On the assumption that communication "expresses" or "reflects" some sort of Zeitgeist, some students have used it as an index to attitudes, interests, values, and mores of the population.<sup>8</sup>

#### MASS MEDIA COMPARISON

The content of mass media served, then, as the indicator of public opinion. Since all of the media could not be analysed it was necessary to choose the most appropriate segment. The public image examined was the mass image. It had to include all those capable of forming an opinion on the subject, no matter how hazy or unfounded.

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

The book audience is too small and select. "Today a novel --or a Rise and Fall of the Third Reich--that is fortunate enough to be a book-club choice and a successful paperback as well as a best seller may be read by millions."<sup>9</sup> But, few books on American military affairs are so fortunate.

Television has relegated radio to second class status and both are necessarily of a transient nature.<sup>10</sup> In addition, they both appear to have greater impact on formulating than on reflecting the public image. As a practical matter, it would be exceptionally difficult to adequately survey these two media because of the unavailability of appropriate research material.

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<sup>9</sup>Don Lacey, "The Economics of Publishing or Adam Smith and Literature," Daedalus, Winter 1963, p. 42. In the same article on pages 47-48 he also explained that: "As communications industries go, the book industry is now a big one, and it is probably growing faster than any of the others. Of this rather large complex, however, only a minor part is devoted to the original publishing of general books for the adult reader....The two biggest sectors of industry are ...the publication of textbooks...and the publication of encyclopedias. ...Other categories are small by comparison...."

Of the whole complex of book publishing enterprises in the United States...only...7.5 percent, represents hard-cover, adult 'trade' publishing [novels; biographies; histories; popular works on science, politics, economics and current issues; poetry and essays]." In addition, it has been estimated that the vanity press accounts for roughly one out of every thirty books published in the U.S. Books. "Vanity Press," Newsweek, LXXII, 26 (December 23, 1968), 83.

<sup>10</sup>"...television news coverage in depth is seldom possible during one of the regularly scheduled network programs of news. For this, there is no substitute today except a good newspaper but these, too, are in short supply... the serious minded citizen who wants to keep informed has no alternative but to wait for the news magazines, a responsible Sunday newspaper, or specialized publications." John Hohenberg, The News Media: A Journalist Looks At His Profession (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 75.

Movies have generally suffered a period of decline.<sup>11</sup> By 1970 the U.S. had dropped into sixth place among the world's top movie producers, behind Japan, India, Taiwan, Italy and Hong Kong.<sup>12</sup>

Both newspapers and national magazines have a wide and varied audience. The present economic situation forces many, if not all, of them to tailor their content to suit both subscribers and advertisers.<sup>13</sup> Newspaper news content has been continually decreasing and smaller newspapers must devote considerable space to relatively minor local issues. "With one or two notable exceptions, the national newspaper as known in many countries, is not a feature of American journalism."<sup>14</sup> This situation is not liable to change.<sup>15</sup> The New York Times is considered among the most influential newspapers, yet its daily circulation is less than a million.<sup>16</sup> In a 1969 Time-Louis Harris poll,

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<sup>11</sup>Show Business, "Hollywood: Will There Ever Be a 21st Century Fox?," Time, XCV, 6 (February 9, 1970), 56-58. Of the greater number of small independents some will prosper but the era of the big studios is apparently ended. Movies, "Hollywood: Myth, Fact and Trouble," Newsweek, LXXIII, 26 (June 30, 1968), 82-87.

<sup>12</sup>Movies, "The Moviemakers," Newsweek, LXXV, 4 (January 26, 1970), 75.

<sup>13</sup>Charles S. Steinberg (ed.), Mass Media and Communications (New York: Hastings House, 1966), p. 170.

<sup>14</sup>Leo Bogart. "Newspapers in the Age of Television," Pedagogus, Winter 1963, p. 120.

<sup>15</sup>Bernard Kilgore, "The American Newspaper--A Changing Image," The Press and the Public Interest, ed. Warren K. Agee (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1968), p. 164.

<sup>16</sup>John C. Merrill in The Elite Press--Great Newspapers of the World (New York: Pitman Publishing Co., 1968) ranks the world's 100 "elite" newspapers in the "Merrill Elite Press Pyramid". The American

the New York Times was found to be familiar to only 30 percent of American readers.<sup>17</sup>

"A news item, as every newspaperman knows, is read in inverse ratio to its length."<sup>18</sup> At least that was one writer's opinion.

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press is represented as follows. [Daily circulation statistics in parenthesis from Leonard Bray (ed.), 1970 Ayer Directory (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, 1970).]

Primary Elite (top 10)	<u>The New York Times</u> (899,231)
Secondary Elite (11-30)	<u>The Christian Science Monitor</u> (213,964)
	<u>St. Louis Post Dispatch</u> (333,224)
	<u>The Washington Post</u> (486,422)
Tertiary Elite (31-60)	<u>The (Baltimore) Sun</u> (177,087)
	<u>Los Angeles Times</u> (935,915)
	<u>Louisville Courier-Journal</u> (231,275)
	<u>Miami Herald</u> (360,036)
	<u>The Wall Street Journal</u> (1,224,029)
Near Elite (61-100)	<u>Atlanta Constitution</u> (203,984)
	<u>Chicago Tribune</u> (775,416)
	<u>Cleveland Plain Dealer</u> (401,060)
	<u>Dallas Morning News</u> (237,508)
	<u>Denver Post</u> (250,680)
	<u>(St. Louis) Globe Democrat</u> (290,500)
	<u>Houston Post</u> (302,912)
	<u>Kansas City Star</u> (313,191)
	<u>Milwaukee Journal</u> (359,036)
	<u>Minneapolis Tribune</u> (240,467)
	<u>Philadelphia Inquirer</u> (483,650)
	<u>Portland Oregonian</u> (243,279)
	<u>(New Orleans) Time-Picayune</u> (197,016)

In a discussion of the New York Times, one of the three listed that has a significant circulation, he says: "This is a proud, almost arrogant, newspaper whose daily circulation of over 900,000 goes to a special leadership audience around the world." Beyond the "tertiary elite" there is little national influence. The first three zones provide a total of only nine newspapers.

<sup>17</sup>The Press, "Judging the Fourth Estate: A Time-Louis Harris Poll," Time, XCIV, 10 (September 5, 1969), 39.

<sup>18</sup>Robert E. Park, "News as a Form of Knowledge," Steinberg, op. cit., p. 133.

Another stated:

Newspaper readers do not average more than fifteen to thirty minutes per day in the reading of a newspaper. The things they read are not always public issues involving public opinion. The greatest number of readers look first at the comics and the illustrative materials. The editorial page is read by only 5 percent of the readers.<sup>19</sup>

And he went on to make a convincing argument for the selection of books or magazines over newspapers as the more influential public opinion media.<sup>20</sup>

### MAGAZINES

The editor of a major periodical index also offered support for the magazine side of the same argument:

Magazines, large and small, above and underground, have taken up some of the slack of other media and can be expected to play an increasingly important role in creating an awareness of possibilities, of going back to the older magazine concepts of making news by shaping and clarifying issues rather than reporting them, as well as revealing information scattered in dark corners. Magazines, more than any other medium today, are presenting a fuller reconstruction of what's happening.<sup>21</sup>

Magazines are carefully edited with the audience in mind. Publishing them is a highly competitive business.

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<sup>19</sup>Clarence Schettler, Public Opinion in American Society (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 245.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 249-255. Curtis MacDougall also offers some support for this position. "Magazine campaigns and often single articles have had profound effects on political history. Fads have been created, fashions have been dictated, and ideas regarding architecture, interior decorating, health and medical care, manners, and social, economic and political problems of every sort have been affected by magazines." Understanding Public Opinion, op. cit., p. 545.

<sup>21</sup>Leon Garry (ed.), The Standard Periodical Directory 1970 (3d ed.; New York: Oxbridge Publishing Co., 1969), p. v.

Every magazine is competing not only with two thousand other magazines but with newspapers, radio and television and with all other kinds of demands upon a reader's time. Magazine writers have to think much more about the competitive aspects of their work than an average newspaper reporter does.<sup>22</sup>

To obtain public support magazines must gratify public demand.<sup>23</sup>

The national magazines must reflect the mass public image in order to survive. For this reason, of all the media, magazines were considered to most accurately reflect public opinion.

A distinguished editor has pinpointed in non-McLuhanesque terms that feature which most distinguishes between newspapers and magazines.

Newspaper pages today [1966] --with few exceptions--are made up, or "designed", by an old-time journeyman-printer and a make-up editor who may, or may not, know much about typography and the thousand and one methods for making pages look readable and exciting. On successful magazines, the art director ranks right below the top editor in importance and authority.<sup>24</sup>

A few magazines have always relied heavily upon pictorial content, but now almost all of them do to some extent. "The picture magazines are using more text, the text magazines are using more picture stories...."<sup>25</sup> To use a modern description, magazines are

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<sup>22</sup>John Fischer, "Magazine and Newspaper Journalism: A Comparison," The Press in Perspective, ed. Ralph D. Casey, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press: 1963), p. 200.

<sup>23</sup>Roland E. Wolsley, "Social Effects of Magazines," Steinberg, op. cit., p. 193.

<sup>24</sup>Gardner Cowles, "The Wonderful Newspaper Business," The Press and the Public Interest, ed. Warren K. Agee, op. cit., p. 204.

<sup>25</sup>Ben Hibbs, "Some Thoughts on Magazine Editing," Ibid., p. 125.

the cooler media.<sup>26</sup> "Pictures have an impact that words seldom have. They are immediate, vivid and produce nonverbal and emotional reaction."<sup>27</sup>

The choice of magazines was also governed by an obvious practical matter. A newspaper analysis would necessarily be of narrower scope since, as noted above, there are few national newspapers and their daily publication would make an extended review of each a rather formidable task. Because of their daily publication, newspapers are less discriminating and more repetitious whereas a periodical, published on a weekly or a monthly basis "...has to be much more selective; its editors have to make many more decisions about what subjects are really significant, and which ones will have some lasting influence in the years ahead."<sup>28</sup>

A most impressive precedent, for using the content analysis of magazines "...to illustrate the main currents of thought and feeling of the American people...",<sup>29</sup> was set by Frank L. Mott in his monumental five volume work, A History of American Magazines.

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<sup>26</sup>McLuhan considers print a hot medium since "...the printed page projects plenty of information; it comes in as high definition for one sense--but does not involve all the senses. By contrast... TV is a cool, low definition medium; that is, it provides a minimum of information--but involves all the senses at once." "The Message of Marshall McLuhan," Newsweek, LXIX, 10 (March 6, 1967), 56.

<sup>27</sup>Hohenberg, The News Media, op. cit., p. 216.

<sup>28</sup>Fischer, op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>29</sup>IV (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. vii.

The scope of his History was necessarily broad but it did provide an accurate and interesting presentation of "the spirit of the age."

#### SUMMARY

The current status of the military's public image was indirectly examined by means of a content analysis of popular national magazines. The magazine segment of the mass media was chosen for both methodological and practical reasons. It was assumed that the mass media both reflect and form public opinion and no attempt was made to distinguish between or separate these two functions. The methodology used for the content analysis is described in Chapter II.



## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY

The prime characteristic of a plan is that it is capable of accomplishing the mission.<sup>1</sup>

Taking Command

#### GENERAL

This chapter presents the rationale used in selecting magazines for the content analysis. Subject areas included or excluded under the general heading of military affairs are broadly described. The two units used in the analysis are defined and the final section discusses the analysis categories and their application.

#### MAGAZINE SELECTION

Magazines were initially selected for the content analysis based upon their subject matter and circulation. The source for data was the 1970 Ayer Directory.<sup>2</sup> It lists periodicals under 35 subject categories (see Appendix A). Four were selected as appropriate for this analysis: General Editorial, Men's, Women's Publications, and Youth. These four categories include a variety of magazines as well

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<sup>1</sup>Samuel H. Hays and William M. Thomas (eds.), Taking Command (Harrisburg: Stackpole Co., 1967), p. 108.

<sup>2</sup>Leonard Bray (ed.), (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, 1970).

as a majority of those which contain military affairs subject matter.

Circulation was used as the next basic selection criterion. Purchase of a magazine generally indicates a degree of approval and the larger the circulation the better the representation of the mass public. It was assumed that the process of selective exposure generally applies to the magazine audience. No attempt was made to choose what are categorized as class or quality magazines, since they are produced for a more select audience. The circulation cutoff was set at nine-hundred thousand since that number seems to approximate the dividing line between select audience, limited interest and national audience, general interest magazines. This division can be seen in the circulation statistics chart in Appendix B.<sup>3</sup> The obvious interrelationship between content and circulation is recognized by editors, although not always looked upon favorably.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>In his book Magazines for Millions, James L. Ford made a distinction between "specialized" and "mass circulation" magazines based upon the audience at which they are aimed. Such a distinction was not made for this analysis because it leads to a dilemma. For example he considered Life and Time as mass circulation magazines but Ebony and U.S. News and World Report as specialized. Such a criterion limits mass circulation or national magazines to less than ten, perhaps even fewer than five. This would have provided too narrow a scope for the analysis. Ford did note however, paraphrasing George Orwell, that, "In a sense, every magazine is specialized but.... Some are more specialized than others." (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), pp. 3-5.

<sup>4</sup>"One of the current [1969] trends in the magazine field which we editors must watch, and deal with realistically, is the current race for larger and larger circulations and the impact that it is sure to have on the very structure of the magazines if we permit it to become the dominating motive in editing....

Every editor worth his salt knows that there are ways to reach farther and farther down the scale of human intelligence and emotions and pull in the readers."

Reduced advertising has recently had a considerable impact on the circulation goals of several national magazines. In 1970 Life, Look, Mc Call's, Holiday and True trimmed their circulations in order to make advertising rates more competitive.<sup>5</sup> Yet even these reduced circulations are far greater than those of a majority of all the other magazines.

Application of the two basic criteria resulted in a total selection of 36 periodicals. These are listed in Appendix C. From this list, newspaper supplements, organizational publications, fiction periodicals, and magazines with no news or current events content were excluded.<sup>6</sup> The newspaper supplements were not considered to be national magazines. Organizational publications, particularly American Legion magazine, were excluded because of their possible "establishment" bias. Both editorial position and circulation would necessarily be affected by the organizational relationship. The magazines that were included in the analysis are listed in Table 1.

Table 1 shows most of the selected magazines to be well-

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Ben Hibbs, "Some Thoughts on Magazine Editing," The Press and the Public Interest, ed. Warren K. Agee (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1968), p. 124.

<sup>5</sup>The Media, "Life Cuts Back", Newsweek, LXXVI, 15 (October 12, 1970), 130.

<sup>6</sup>Newspaper Supplements: Parade, Family Weekly, National Scene and New York Times Magazine; Organizational Publications: National Geographic, Boys' Life, American Legion, Scouting Magazine and American Girl; No news/current-events content: Homemaker's Digest, Woman's Day, Family Circle and Farm Journal. Ingenue and True Story Magazine were not included because copies were not available for the 1938-1970 time period.

Table 1  
Magazines Included In Content Analysis

<u>MAGAZINE</u> (1)	<u>CIRCULATION</u> (2)	<u>PUBLISHED</u> (3)	<u>ESTABLISHED</u> (4)
1. <u>Reader's Digest</u>	17,585,611	monthly	1922
2. <u>McCall's Magazine</u>	8,554,899	monthly	1870
3. <u>Life</u>	8,535,874 <sup>a</sup>	weekly	1936
4. <u>Look</u>	7,800,531 <sup>b</sup>	bi-weekly	1937
5. <u>Ladies' Home Journal</u>	6,906,024	monthly	1883
6. <u>Good Housekeeping</u>	5,716,429	monthly	1885
7. <u>Playboy</u>	5,262,432	monthly	1953
8. <u>Redbook</u>	4,561,537	monthly	1903
9. <u>Time</u>	4,164,021	weekly	1923
10. <u>Newsweek</u>	2,472,890	weekly	1933
11. <u>True</u>	2,400,813	monthly	1937
12. <u>Parents Magazine</u>	2,156,214	monthly	1926
13. <u>U.S. News &amp; World Report</u>	1,756,844	weekly	1933
14. <u>Popular Mechanics</u>	1,711,561	monthly	1902
15. <u>Popular Science Monthly</u>	1,662,505	monthly	1872
16. <u>Seventeen</u>	1,514,880	monthly	1944
17. <u>Glamour</u>	1,461,832	monthly	1939
18. <u>ARGOY</u>	1,410,679	monthly	1882
19. <u>Ebony</u>	1,176,375	monthly	1945
20. <u>Esquire</u>	1,132,752	monthly	1933
21. <u>Cosmopolitan</u>	1,100,680	monthly	1886

Sources: Columns 2-4: Leonard Bray (ed.), 1970 Ayer Directory (updated).

<sup>a</sup>Planned reduction to 7,000,000 by January of 1971. The Media, "Life Cuts Back," Newsweek, LXXVI, 15 (October 12, 1970), 130.

<sup>b</sup>Planned reduction to 6,500,000 by September 1971. The Media, "Inside Look" Newsweek, LXXVI, 11 (September 14, 1970), 73.

Table 1 (continued)

<u>PUBLISHER</u> (5)	<u>EDITOR</u> (6)	<u>REFERENCE VALUE<sup>c</sup></u> (7)	<u>JUDGMENT VALUE<sup>d</sup></u> (8)
1. Reader's Digest Assn., Inc.	De Witt & Lila Wallace	L	C
2. McCall Publishing Co.	Shana Alexander	M	B
3. Time, Inc.	Thomas Griffith	M	B
4. Cowles Magazine & Broadcasting Inc.	William B. Arthur	M	A
5. Downe Publishing Inc.	John Mock Carter	L	C
6. Hearst Corporation	Wade H. Nichols	M	B
7. H.M.H. Publishing Co., Inc.	Hugh M. Hefner	M	B
8. McCall Publishing Co.	Sey Choosler	L	B
9. Time, Inc.	Kedley Donovan	M	C
10. Newsweek, Inc.	Osborn Elliott	H	V
11. Fawcett Publications, Inc.	Charles N. Barnard	M	A
12. Parents' Magazine Enterprise Inc.	Dorothy Cotton	M	A
13. U.S. News & World Report Inc.	David Lawrence	M	A
14. Hearst Corp.	Robert P. Crossley	H	A
15. Popular Science Publishing Co.	Ernest V. Heyn	H	V
16. Triangle Publications, Inc.	Enid A. Haupt	M	V
17. Conde Nast Publications Inc.	Ruth Whitney	L	B
18. Popular Publications Inc.	Henry Steiger	L	B
19. Johnson Publishing Co.	John H. Johnson	M	B
20. Arnold Gingrich	Harold Hayes	M	A
21. Hearst Corporation	Helen G. Brown	L	B

Sources: Columns 5 & 6: Eraz, Ibid.

Columns 7 & 8: Bill Katz, Magazines for Libraries

<sup>c</sup>L-Low, M-Medium, H-High

<sup>d</sup>C-below average, B-average, A-among best, V-best in kind

established, founded between 1870 and 1953. This, however, did not necessarily imply financial success or an "establishment" viewpoint. Financial difficulties have caused cutbacks at both Look (established 1937) and Life (established 1936) and several others have suffered a "cost squeeze."<sup>7</sup> The retention of advertising to support a national audience is a severe publishing challenge. The Saturday Evening Post is one magazine that recently failed to meet this challenge. In the 1950s the Post:

...set alltime records for newstand sales, and circulation grew to 6,000,000; but it was a lowest-common-denominator readership. Advertisers lost faith in the Post audience and moved their accounts to TV or to more modern or specialized publications.<sup>8</sup>

This caused its demise. One magazine with an anti-establishment point of view, at least in the area of military affairs, Playboy, (see Table 15) is having no revenue problems.<sup>9</sup>

The financial factor is important. For, as a senior editor of Reader's Digest has said:

One of the simplest and most inescapable facts of publishing life is that editorial independence is much easier to maintain, editorial courage a lot easier to practice, when your publication is financially impregnable.<sup>10</sup>

The sources of the selected magazines were varied, only three companies publishing more than one of them. They also were

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<sup>7</sup>Jack Buck, "Cutbacks May Help Magazine," Kansas City Times, October 29, 1970, p. 5B.

<sup>8</sup>The Press, "The Saturday Evening Post," Time, XCIII, 3 (January 17, 1969), p. 49.

<sup>9</sup>Buck, loc. cit.

<sup>10</sup>Hibbs, "Some Thoughts on Magazine Editing," loc. cit.

considered to have various reference and judgment values (see Table 1). These values are used in Chapter IV to provide a weighted analysis of the content analysis results.

Reader's Digest is given both a low research and judgment value rating but it is obviously the most popular American magazine.<sup>11</sup> It was often criticized for not being a true digest because it "plants" articles in other magazines for later reprint and thus influences their content.<sup>12</sup> If so, its significance was only enhanced for this particular analysis.

The included news magazines were selected in 1965 as the top three magazines used by Washington reporters in their work.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>"The Reader's Digest is read far and wide by high and low. It is read by those who read widely and intensively and by those who read little else. It is read from the pulpit and the judicial bench, read on trains and aboard ships and planes, studied in the schoolroom, read and reread in the home. Nationwide studies conducted by random sampling methods have found that an average issue of The Reader's Digest is picked up for reading 266,000,000 times a month in the United States." James P. Wood, Of Lasting Interest, (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1967), pp. 3-4.

<sup>12</sup>Curtis D. MacDougall, Understanding Public Opinion (Dubuque: William C. Brown, Co. 1966), p. 551. The situation is discussed in detail for the time period 1939-1945 by John Bainbridge, Little Wonder (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1946), chapter 3, pp. 52-75.

<sup>13</sup>William L. Rivers, The Opinion Makers (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), pp. 54-55. Capitol Reporters' Opinions on Journalism Magazines Used in Work (Number answering--203)

<u>Magazine</u>	<u>Used by Reporters (percent)</u>
<u>Time</u>	33.5
<u>U.S. News &amp; World Report</u>	33.0
<u>Newsweek</u>	32.5
<u>The Reporter</u>	24.6
Government Publications	11.3
<u>Harper's</u>	11.3
<u>Business Week</u>	10.8
<u>The Economist</u>	7.9

Their use, however, did not necessarily imply confidence.<sup>14</sup>

Several of the selected magazines have been noted by both military critics and defenders for their influence in areas of military affairs. The following examples are provided by the critics:

Charlotte Keyes...wrote an article for McCall's magazine, October, 1966 entitled "Suppose They Gave a War and No One Came." Reprinted and widely distributed, this article describes in fuller details the human story behind her son's early actions [as a draft resister],<sup>15</sup>

It happened that a Life photographer was there and photographed Chris [Christopher Kearns] burning the [draft] card. The photograph appeared in Life magazine...upon seeing it they [the Congress] went beserk....The Congress passed a bill--without debate--making it a criminal offense to burn one's draft card, providing a five-year prison penalty and a \$10,000 fine,<sup>16</sup>

and

It was only the beginning, because these one thousand GIs were all eager to enlist new members [in the American Servicemen's Union]. And we were getting plenty of publicity too. Esquire magazine ran a cover story titled "The Plot to Unionize the U.S. Army"....When the Esquire story hit the stands (the picture on the cover showed a private sticking his tongue out at a General) the brass banned it from many Army bases....<sup>17</sup>

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<u>The New Republic</u>	7.3
<u>Fortune</u>	4.4

<sup>14</sup>Ibid. pp. 55-56. Only these partial figures on fairness and reliability were provided:

<u>Magazine</u>	<u>Votes</u>
<u>Newsweek</u>	75
<u>U.S. News &amp; World Report</u>	66
<u>Time</u>	9

<sup>15</sup>Alice Lynd (ed.), We Won't Go (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 15 [italics not in the original].

<sup>16</sup>Tom Cornell, "Not the Smallest Grain of Innocence", Ibid., pp. 36-37.

<sup>17</sup>Andy Stapp, Up Against the Brass (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), pp. 136-137.



One measure of the consideration given to the selected magazines for educational purposes was provided by a recent American Library Association book, Periodicals for School Libraries. It listed those American magazines which were recommended for school library use. Of the selected magazines only Playboy, Redbook and Argosy were not included.<sup>18</sup> The inclusion of a magazine in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature is a significant measure of its editorial influence. Reader's Guide indexed all of the selected magazines except Playboy, True, Glamour, Argosy and Cosmopolitan.<sup>19</sup>

#### MATERIAL SELECTION

The entire content of all the selected magazines was reviewed for the analysis with the exception of those regular features in U.S. News & World Report and Newsweek which consisted of one or two pages of small news items, rarely more than a paragraph in length.<sup>20</sup> These were generally statements of fact and added little to the analysis since such a large portion of the content of these two magazines was devoted to military affairs.

A more detailed discussion of specific subject areas is contained in Chapter III. In general, all material that directly

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<sup>18</sup>Marian H. Scott (ed.), (Chicago: American Library Association, 1969).

<sup>19</sup>Zada Limerick (ed.), Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, Vol. XXIX, March 1969--February 1970 (New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1970), pp. ix-xii.

<sup>20</sup>Newsweek, "The Periscope" and U.S. News & World Report: "Washington Whispers", "Tomorrow Newsgram" and "Worldgram".

pertained to the U.S. military was included. The American usage of the term military was generally understood to include all the Armed Services. For example, Denis Brogan, an Englishman, commented:

I don't know when the omnibus term 'the military' came into general American use to cover not merely the Army (as in English usage) but all the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force and that ambiguous body, the Marine Corps), as a kind of 'estate of the republic' (on the analogy of an 'estate of the realm' in English law and language).<sup>21</sup>

The more parochial view of an unidentified brigadier general, "... when you say 'the military' you mean the Army," was not considered to be a valid generalization.<sup>22</sup>

Yet even this broad interpretation was, in some instances, too narrow. The Defense Department and, more concretely, the Pentagon were frequently subjects for magazine articles and letters to the editor. When such articles and letters made no distinction between the civilian and the military aspects of their subject, they were included in the analysis. Similarly, articles on the military-industrial complex, CIA operations in Laos or other subjects that could be dissected into civilian and military segments were included when no civilian versus military distinction was made. The term "government" was not considered to be synonymous with "military".

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<sup>21</sup>Denis Brogan, "How It Looks from the Colonies", Esquire, LXXIII, 3 (March 1970), 68.

<sup>22</sup>Ward Just, Military Men (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 221.

## EXCLUDED MATERIAL

Fictional material was not included. However, reviews of books and movies, whether fictional or not, were included if they were related to military affairs. Advertisements were also not included even when they were related to military affairs.

There are currently a number of significant news subjects that have at least an indirect military relationship. Where the relationship was considered to be too tenuous the material was not included. The U.S. space program is carried out by a civilian agency and even though the first astronauts were military officers their service association was not emphasized.<sup>23</sup> Articles on the space program, that did not specifically address some military aspect, were not included. The supersonic transport program has obvious military implications. However, it was not sponsored by the Department of Defense and was therefore not included. The primary arguments in support of it--to help U.S. balance of payments and retain world civil aviation leadership--were not military oriented.<sup>24</sup>

Material about the Middle East conflict, the invasion of Czechoslovakia or military operations carried out by any country other than the United States was not included. If an article devoted to such topics also explicitly discussed the U.S. military it was judged

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<sup>23</sup>Dale O. Smith, The Eagle's Talons (Washington: Spartan Books, 1966), p. 37.

<sup>24</sup>"Race for a Superjet--Can U.S. Catch Up?" U.S. News & World Report, LXVI, 11 (March 17, 1969), 39.

for inclusion only on the basis of the U.S. military portion of its content.

The Coast Guard, Secret Service, Central Intelligence Agency and other government organizations whose operations frequently interface with those of the military were not included under the term military. For example, the recent attempted defection by a Soviet seaman was not considered a military incident because it primarily involved the U.S. Coast Guard.

Many of the military subject areas had political overtones. When the emphasis of an item was on national politics rather than military affairs, it was not included. Finally, articles on national military strategy that addressed policies formulated at presidential level, for example the "Nixon doctrine", were not considered for the purpose of this analysis to be military affairs if they addressed only the civilian responsibilities and functions of our governmental organization.

#### TIME PERIOD

The time span selected for examination was July 1968 through December 1970. This period was long enough to provide a sufficient amount and variety of material that would permit a general analysis of current public opinion. The December 1970 date was late enough to insure timely conclusions but still early enough to permit a practical research cutoff date.

The analysis of a longer time span would have been desirable but infeasible.

As is true of newspapers, a magazine's deepest influence comes from the cumulative effect of its basic editorial policies. The trend of American public opinion--what topics were most interesting or worrisome, what needs existed to be satisfied--probably could be written by a thorough study of the rise and fall of magazines.<sup>25</sup>

However, the period from 1968 through 1970 was long enough to determine the position of some "basic editorial policies."

This time span also encompassed the current period of increased antimilitarism. The origin of this phenomenon was associated by some critics with the congressional debate on the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) program which began early in 1968 and reached a peak in 1969. Vietnam War sentiment also changed considerably during this same period. Opposition to the war, as recorded by hawk-dove positions, has had an almost uninterrupted rise since the time of the 1968 Tet offensive.<sup>26</sup>

There were similar developments in other military related areas. One critical source stated that "...until 1969 there had been only two serious challenges to secret research on the campuses in more than a decade."<sup>27</sup> There was at least one additional

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<sup>25</sup>MacDougall, Understanding Public Opinion, op. cit., p. 548.

<sup>26</sup>"Changing Views on Vietnam War," U.S. News & World Report, LXVII, 21 (November 24, 1969), 28. The Gallup Poll showed that the number of Americans saying, "U.S. involvement in Vietnam is a mistake," crossed the 50 percent line in late 1968 and rose thereafter. National Affairs, "Gallup Poll Chart," Newsweek, LXXIV, 15 (October 13, 1969), 35.

<sup>27</sup>William M. Gaffin and Erwin Knoll, Scandal in the Pentagon (Greenwich: Fawcett Publications, 1969), p. 137.

"challenge"<sup>28</sup> but opposition to campus research did begin to increase in 1969. This period also included a rise in anti-ROTC activity. It was reported that, "Attacks against ROTC quadrupled after an SDS conference last December [1968]."<sup>29</sup> The area of Chemical-Biological (CB) Warfare drew criticism following the "Utah sheep incident" in 1968. This escalated into Representative Richard D. McCarthy's anti-CB campaign and culminated in President Nixon's renunciation of germ warfare on November 25, 1969.<sup>30</sup>

Some placed the origin of the current surge of antimilitarism as early as 1962.<sup>31</sup> At least one critic supported this position:

A year ago [1961] there was no such stirring in America. Today there is. College students and housewives picket the White House in protest against nuclear testing. Even a highly popular Kennedy can get no better than a bare 50-50 split of public sentiment on his decision to match the Russian tests in the atmosphere. These are straws in the wind. They represent a mere beginning, but even a beginning is a promise. It is a sign that the American people may be ready at long last to question the omniscience of the Military and Big Business; to examine the basic premises of the Warfare State--and to demand a better deal for the human race than war.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>John Swomley, The Military Establishment (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 215.

<sup>29</sup>Kenneth Y. Tomlinson, "ROTC Under Attack," Reader's Digest, November 1969, p. 234.

<sup>30</sup>C.V. Glines, "Nixon's CBW Policy: Unilateral Disarmament?," Armed Forces Management, XVI, 4 (January 1970), 42-45.

<sup>31</sup>Hal B. Rhyne, "The Image of the Army in 1970," (unpublished thesis, U.S. Army War College, March 9, 1970), p. 34.

<sup>32</sup>Fred J. Cook, The Warfare State (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), p. 356.

These "straws in the wind" now appear to some observers like trees in a cyclone. The following statement by John Kenneth Galbraith is representative of current opinion: "Three or four years ago [1966-1967] anyone who raised the question of the military power heard himself as a rather lonesome voice....No one now [1970] has such a rewarding feeling of valor."<sup>33</sup>

#### ANALYSIS UNITS

All of the selected magazine material was divided into two types of units: articles or excerpts. A unit was considered to be an article only if it contained one or more pages of pertinent text or pictorial material. Anything less than that amount was considered an excerpt. In both cases the unit included the entire item, all text and pictorial content. Excerpts included a variety of material such as: letters, cartoons, short reviews, brief news items, and complete articles or portions of complete articles that were less

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<sup>33</sup>John K. Galbraith, How to Control the Military (New York: Signet Books, 1969), pp. 8-11. Others in agreement: "The antimilitary mood which has swelled so in this country during the past three years [1968-1970] ..." Michael Getler, "Editorial: Trouble in the Ranks," Armed Forces Management, XVI, 9 (June, 1970), 11, and "Only a year ago [April, 1968], Wisconsin's Senator Gaylord Nelson said in a moment of frustration: 'We all know that the two biggest words in the English language are 'national defense'. If you just shout them loud enough you are in the clear. It is just plain unpatriotic to question any appropriation for national defense. Defense against what? It does not matter. Just utter the magic words.' Nelson's complaint was not considered much of an exaggeration-only a year ago. Now [1969], suddenly, the words seem to have lost their magic. Now another Senator notes that wherever he goes, 'one sure applause line is a condemnation of the growing influence of the military.'" The Nation, "The Military: Servant or Master of Policy?," Time, XCIII, 15 (April 11, 1969), 20.

than one page. Letters, in the variously titled "Letters to the Editor" sections, were considered excerpts even if several of them covered a page or more. No single letter was found to be a page in length. For a portion of an article to qualify as an excerpt the appropriate material had to consist of at least one paragraph or two to three sentences.

The reason for selecting two units was to permit consideration of the greater impact provided by an article as compared to an excerpt in the subsequent analysis. Articles frequently covered several pages, included illustrations or diagrams and were individually authored. Some of them were also featured on the magazine cover. These factors dictated that articles be given some weighted value in the analysis as compared to the excerpts.

#### MILITARY AFFAIRS SUBJECT AREAS

The initial selection of subject areas was based upon an analysis of topics contained in a number of recent critical books (see Appendix D). These 44 areas and subareas were the ones used at the beginning of the content analysis. Others were added as necessary during the actual review and some of those listed in Appendix D proved to be obsolete. The use of books for the initial selection was also done for the purpose of permitting a comparison to be made between the scope of book versus magazine coverage after completion of the content analysis. Since the books covered a greater time span some differences were expected.



## ANALYSIS CATEGORIES

The most important, most difficult and most subjective part of the analysis was to categorize the point of view of each unit. Selective perception could easily bias such a judgment. For simplicity only four categories were used: favorable, unfavorable, balanced and neutral.

A favorable item was one that generally supported the military position in the subject area addressed, while an unfavorable item was in some way critical of that position. To be considered favorable or unfavorable an item need not have been 100 percent polarized but a distinct emphasis was required. The balanced category included all items that addressed both sides of a subject area, although exactly equal emphasis was not required. The neutral category included items that presented facts which in themselves or in their direct implications contained no judgment. Explicit judgments were not required for items to be considered favorable or unfavorable. The fact that there was an accidental nerve gas leak at the Army base in Okinawa or the fact that the ABM system was successfully tested had obvious indirect judgmental implications and were so categorized.

Small portions of complete articles that could have been rated as neutral excerpts were generally not included. Particularly with regard to the Vietnam War subject area, short one or two sentence references were made in many articles whose basic subject matter did not address military affairs. Such passing references, when neutral, were not included in the analysis.

Using only four categories could have been somewhat misleading since some items were quite polarized and better deserved a rating such as "very favorable" or "extremely unfavorable". These items were necessarily included with others which might have been considered only "slightly favorable" or "mildly unfavorable". But to do otherwise would have compounded the subjective aspect of the problem by requiring specific gradations within categories that were themselves subject to personal interpretation.

As shown in Chapter IV, the majority of the items were either favorable or unfavorable. Although this was a subjective determination most of the material readily fell into one of these two categories. When items were difficult to assess from the text alone, the following factors were also considered: title, introductory and closing paragraphs, pictorial content (including captions), quotations, and highlighted text (bold face type, extracted quotes, etc.). It was not necessary to resort to the use of a ruler in order to compare lengths of favorable versus unfavorable text or tally the number of derogatory versus commendable adjectives. Accuracy or validity of the material was not considered in categorizing items. Items were considered favorable or unfavorable whether they were well founded or not. Specific factors considered for each subject area are discussed in Chapter III.

Each item was categorized based upon its own position, explicit or implicit, and not upon any fixed set of favorable or unfavorable views. For example, relaxed haircut requirements might have been hailed

in one item as a proper step toward the modern Army (favorable) or condemned in another item as a sign of lax military discipline (unfavorable). Neither was any consistency required among separate items. Criticism of poor military intelligence was categorized the same as criticism of attempts to improve intelligence (both unfavorable).

## CHAPTER III

### SUBJECT AREAS

No subject exists as a completely separate entity. All subjects contain other subjects and are parts of larger subjects.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Principles of Cataloging

#### GENERAL

This chapter presents a discussion of all the subject areas and subareas (see Table 2) included in the content analysis. Their favorable and unfavorable aspects are described and most of them are exemplified with representative quotations.

The six major subject areas: War, Military History, Militarism, Vietnam War, Personnel and Incidents, are approximately ordered in terms of their scope from general to specific. The ordering was not based upon any assumed relative importance or significance. The subareas are listed in alphabetic order except for the four under incidents which are listed chronologically.

In many items there was considerable overlap between subjects. If two or more subareas were discussed, the item was listed under the basic area. If an item could have been listed both as an article for one subject area and as an excerpt for one or more other areas, it was listed only as an article.

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<sup>1</sup>L. Jolley, (New York: Philosophical Library, 1961), p. 99.

Table 2

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 Military Affairs Subject Areas
 

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 AREAS AND SUBAREAS
 

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## War

## Military History

## Militarism

All Volunteer Army

Arms Race

CB Warfare

Civic Action

Civil Defense

Civilian Spying

Draft

Ecology

Foreign Policy Influence

Interservice and Intraservice Rivalry

Military-Academic Complex

Military Academies

Military Assistance

Military Budget

Military-Congressional Complex

Military Economy

Military-Industrial Complex

Military-Local Community Complex

Military-Religious Complex

Military Right-Wing Complex

Public Information

Reserve Forces and National Guard

ROTC

Strategic Intelligence

## Vietnam War

POW

## Personnel

Careers

Dissent

Drugs

Education and Training

Leadership

Medical

Military Justice

Race Relations

## Incidents

Pueblo

Green Berets

My Lai

Kent State

## WAR

Criticism of War, or more specifically in some cases nuclear war, was basically aimed at its senselessness and destructiveness. For many observers nuclear war was the unimaginable disaster. In the words of one military critic: "Since 1945 the institution of war has been incompatible with the survival of the human race."<sup>2</sup> Obviously, a favorable view did not consist in advocating or supporting War, nuclear or otherwise, but simply in understanding the need, in the past or in the future, for using military force in order to support U.S. national objectives. The author of a book reviewed in Time credited "...war with producing or contributing to many of civilization's most treasured fruits."<sup>3</sup> His was considered to be a rather abnormal viewpoint. It may be a cliché that the military hate war the most since they know it the best, but it was considered to be true.

Of all Americans he [the military man] best understands the brutalities and indignities of war because he must face them personally. It is to the everlasting credit of the American military mind that it was not a civilian (and not a foreigner) but an American general who made it emphatically clear that "war is hell."<sup>4</sup>

General Shoup's opinion that, "...many ambitious military professionals truly yearn for wars and the opportunities for glory

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<sup>2</sup>Richard J. Barnet, The Economy of Death (New York: Atheneum, 1969, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Behavior, "The Case for War," XCV,10 (March 9, 1970), 46.

<sup>4</sup>Raymond J. Barrett, "The Military Image," Ordinance, LIV, 300 (May-June 1970), 611.

and distinction afforded only in combat,"<sup>5</sup> if valid, was considered applicable to only a small minority of officers and not the military as a whole.

Many unfavorable items were reviews of movies whose basic anti-war theme was set within an incidental but relatively recent historical framework, such as World War II or the Korean War. As an example, Oh! What a Lovely War, based on World War I, "...succeeds as a colorful, sardonic, often moving document about the way in which nations ruled by corrupt old men contrive to decimate innocent youth."<sup>6</sup> The range of topics for War items was extremely wide, ranging from the "Peace Suicides,"<sup>7</sup> the story of two high school classmates in Gloucester Township, New Jersey who killed themselves as a demonstration for peace, to "Blessed are the Peacemakers,"<sup>8</sup> an article which discussed ten somewhat more practical ways to reach the same goal.

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<sup>5</sup>David M. Shoup, "The New American Militarism," Atlantic, CCXXIII, 4 (April 1969), 54.

<sup>6</sup>Movies, Playboy, XVI, 11 (November 1969), 48-50.

<sup>7</sup>Elliot Asinof, "The 'Peace Suicides' Why Did They Do It?," Seventeen, XXIX, 3 (March 1970), 174 & 231. On October 15, 1969, "A few hours after attending a moratorium demonstration at Glassboro State College, N.J., two high school classmates--Craig Badiali and Joan Fox--parked on a secluded lovers' lane in Gloucester Township, Using a vacuum cleaner hose, they channeled the exhaust into their Ford Falcon. Then they closed the windows, turned on the engine--and committed suicide." National Affairs, "Oct. 15: A day to Remember," Newsweek, LXXIV, 17 (October 27, 1969), 33B.

<sup>8</sup>Esquire, LXXII, 6 (December 1969), 250-252.

## MILITARY HISTORY

All U.S. military actions prior to and including the Korean War were listed as Military History. Favorable items ranged from accounts of the courage and bravery of individuals or units, e.g. the 10th Cavalry<sup>9</sup> and the Lafayette Escadrille<sup>10</sup>, to essays supporting the basic motives and objectives of past American military actions.

An example of the latter was given by columnist Kenneth Crawford's D Day reminiscences:

A luxury we all shared was the certainty that we were doing what had to be done--that we were putting an end to Hitler and all he stood for. In these times of doubt, this unanimity can be recalled with some satisfaction. This, we thought then, was a war worth fighting. I still believe it was.<sup>11</sup>

On the unfavorable side were found items discussing specific disastrous results of previous wars (the plight of GI war babies or the destruction of cities such as Hiroshima and Dresden)<sup>12</sup> as well as the same type of criticism applicable to war in general. Some of these items could have been included under the War subject area except for the fact that they were specifically identified with some particular

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<sup>9</sup>"The 10th Cavalry Rides Again," Ebony, XXIV, 4 (February 1969), 92-97.

<sup>10</sup>Richard J. Howe, "The Daring Young Men of the Lafayette Escadrille," Reader's Digest, October 1968, pp. 242-252.

<sup>11</sup>"D Day Plus 25 Years," Newsweek, LXXIII, 24 (June 16, 1969), 37.

<sup>12</sup>For example: Don Hower, "Japan's GI Babies: A Hard Coming of Age," Life, LXVII, 10 (September 5, 1969), 40-47 and "25 Years Ago--Two Cities Two Bombs," Life, LXIX, 5 (July 31, 1970), 30-31.



historic action and they did not include a more general condemnation of war.

A few recollections of bravery were tempered with unfavorable views of strategy.

The heroism [on Tarawa] from [Colonel David M.] Shoup to the lowest private, was beyond belief. But a little reflection 25 years later makes one question whether such an insignificant sand pit was worth so much blood and suffering.<sup>13</sup>

Again, a number of movie reviews were included. None were favorable. For example, the Little Big Man, a modern western, included "...cavalry charges that, in [the director, Arthur] Penn's reversal of legend, lead to nothing grander than the kind of baby-murdering atrocities alleged at My Lai."<sup>14</sup>

#### MILITARISM

Past criticism of the American military had rarely gone to the extent of concerning itself with the threat of a coup. Discussion of such a problem has now become more common. The author of "A

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<sup>13</sup>Samuel Shaffer, "Return to Tarawa," Newsweek, LXXII, 22 (December 2, 1968), 51. The author stated that Gen. Holland M. Smith, "...flatly asserted that Tarawa was a mistake and should have been bypassed." It was interesting to note that such juxtapositions of opinion have followed much closer in the Vietnam War. "...the troops of the 101st Division had not only done their job. They had done it heroically. In the face of superior numbers and murderous fire, they had rammed the enemy off Hamburger Hill and inflicted losses possibly ten times as heavy as they had suffered. It was a remarkable military achievement, and yet the question could not be repressed: Was it worth it? It was not only [Senator Edward] Kennedy who answered in the negative. 'The last thing we needed was Hamburger Hill,' said a State Department official." The War in Vietnam, "Woe to the Victors," Newsweek, LXXIII, 22 (June 2, 1969), 42.

<sup>14</sup>Movies, "How the West Was Lost," Newsweek, LXXVI, 25 (December 21, 1970), 100.

Scenario for a Military Coup d'Etat in the United States," published in Esquire, introduced his fictional presentation with an explanation of the small probability of its ever being enacted.<sup>15</sup> And the following analysis from Newsweek was in the same vein:

The draftee does not really care, as long as he has a reasonable hope of survival, but the career men who form the heart and soul of the Army are embittered and frustrated, and some thoughtful professionals wonder aloud whether their colleagues might not set out some day on the fateful path of political activism taken by French officers after the defeat in Algeria. Given America's traditions, that seems highly improbable. But it is perhaps a cause for concern that any U.S. military men can even give thought to such a possibility. For as Gen. William Westmoreland, the Army's Chief of Staff, remarked recently: "An Army without discipline, morale and pride is a menace to the country that it is sworn to defend." The U.S. Army is still far from being such a menace. But for the first time in modern American history, the danger that it could become so is no longer unthinkable.<sup>16</sup>

But a recent Nation article provided no caveat.

With each passing year, if the fundamental trends continue, less will be needed to initiate the final transformation. The new political system would not be facism but rather military authoritarianism. The economy would be completely dominated by huge international, multi-industry, defense contracting corporations with secure connections at the Pentagon. The political regime would be maintained, not by the general consent of the governed but by a highly integrated FBI-CIA-defense

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<sup>15</sup>Edward Luttwak, LXXIV, 1 (July 1970), 60-65 & 138-141. The internal collapse of America appeared to be a popular recent theme. The same sequence of events outlined in Luttwak's "scenario" was employed by several other writers. A recent novel, Meeting the Bear, depicted a sweeping tide of black rioting with the ultimate result that, "In city after city the Army takes over." Actual events in recent years certainly provided a degree of plausibility for such fictional accounts. Thorpe Mann, "Books of the Day," Kansas City Star, May 2, 1971, p. 3F.

<sup>16</sup>The War in Indochina, "The Troubled U.S. Army in Vietnam," LXXVII, 2 (January 11, 1971), 37.

agency-police system relying increasingly on the manipulation of public opinion, surveillance and coercion.<sup>17</sup>

And such viewpoints were becoming more common.<sup>18</sup>

The Militarism subject area included a number of subareas. Whenever an item discussed two or more of these subareas it was included in the more general area of Militarism, and categorized by its treatment of these subareas. The terminology used by one critic, Eric Sevareid, "military-industrial-academic-labor union-congressional complex",<sup>19</sup> exemplified the broad scope of this area. Criticism was generally directed against excessive military power or a subordination of other national interests to those of the military.

Mr. Sevareid feared the external consequences of militarism more than the possibility of a coup:

The new curse has come with America's new military power.

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<sup>17</sup>William D. Phelan, "The Authoritarian Prescription," CCIX, 15 (November 3, 1969), 467-473. Reprinted in Current, March 1970, as "The Future of American Politics: Is Constitutional Democracy Doomed?," pp. 40-46.

<sup>18</sup>The view expressed in a recent Military Review article was considered to possess more hope than truth. "The primary criticism of the Military Establishment is that it is too big and cumbersome, that it is too expensive, and that it is not sufficiently under control of the President or Congress. Even the most ardent critics deny the existence of a military conspiracy seeking power." Roy K. Flint, "Army Professionalism for the Future," LI, 4 (April 1971), 5-6.

As early as 1953 retired Air Force Colonel William N. Neblett claimed that, "If Congress continues to follow, as it has done in the past, the lead of the generals and admirals, our form of government may soon be lost in the mire of military dictatorship." Pentagon Politics (New York: Pageant Press, 1953), p. 17.

<sup>19</sup>"American Militarism: What is It Doing To Us?," Look, XXXIII, 16 (August 12, 1969), 14.

A form of Parkinson's Law operates here. The greater the power, the more the men who associate with it, extoll it and find needs, real or sophistical, for its use. The use of available, flexible force becomes easier than hard thought and the worse aspect of the curse is the gradual, almost unconscious indentification of power with virtue.<sup>20</sup>

A third unfavorable point of view was expressed by a "Life Editorial:"

The valid criticism is not that U.S. military strength is unnecessary or immoral, but that too frequently it has been haphazardly conceived, wastefully acquired and inadequately controlled.<sup>21</sup>

Favorable opinion did not support growing militarism but only the need for a strong military establishment, one that was capable of adequately dealing with the Russian or Chinese threat.

#### All-Volunteer Army

"The concept of a volunteer armed force for the U.S. is one of the few national propositions that have scarcely a single enemy."<sup>22</sup> Yet there were some unfavorable items. Most of these expressed opinions similar to the following:

...I believe that a democracy can live more easily with the conscripts than it can with the professionals. The former do not like what they are doing--and that is precisely the reason why they should be preferred.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>"The World Still Moves Our Way," Look, XXXII, 14 (July 9, 1968), 28.

<sup>21</sup>"Rethinking the Pentagon's Role," Life, LXVII, 24 (December 12, 1969), 48.

<sup>22</sup>Time Essay, "The Case for a Volunteer Army," Time, XCIII, 2 (January 10, 1969), 25.

<sup>23</sup>George E. Reedy, Who Will Do Our Fighting For Us? (New York: World Publishing Co., 1969), p. 14 [*italics in original*].

But in some cases it was expressed more vehemently: "The all-volunteer Army would destroy us by establishing a state-sanctioned body of professional killers in our midst."<sup>24</sup>

The following list of typical concerns about the All-Volunteer Army was abstracted from the Report of the President's Commission:

1. An all-volunteer force will be very costly--so costly the nation cannot afford it.
2. An all-volunteer force will lack the flexibility to expand rapidly in times of sudden crisis.
3. An all-volunteer force will undermine patriotism by weakening the traditional belief that each citizen has a moral responsibility to serve his country.
4. The higher pay required for a voluntary force will be especially appealing to blacks, who have relatively poorer civilian opportunities. This, combined with higher re-enlistment rates for blacks, will mean that a disproportionate number of blacks will be in military service.
- Those joining an all-volunteer force will be men from the lowest economic classes, motivated primarily by monetary rewards rather than patriotism. An all-volunteer force will be manned, in effect, by mercenaries.
6. An all-volunteer force would stimulate foreign military adventures, foster an irresponsible foreign policy, and lessen civilian concern about the use of military forces.
7. A volunteer force will be less effective because not enough highly qualified youths will be likely to enlist and pursue military careers. As the quality of servicemen declines, the prestige and dignity of the services will also decline and further intensify recruiting problems.
8. The defense budget will not be increased to provide for an all-volunteer force, and the Department of Defense will have to cut back expenditures in other areas.<sup>25</sup>

Unfavorable magazine items stressed one or more of these concerns.

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<sup>24</sup>The Playboy Forum, "Volunteer Army," Playboy, XVII, 6 (June 1970), 168.

<sup>25</sup>President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force, Report of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force (New York: Collier Books, 1970), pp. 12-16.

### Arms Race

The Arms Race subject area was generally confined to items concerning strategic weapon systems and the arms limitation talks. Considerable magazine coverage was given to the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) system and the Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicle (MIRV) missile warhead programs during 1968-1970.

From the start of this session, the anti-ABM faction has been one of the wonders of the 91st Congress....It selected the ABM as the focal point for an assault on the arms-race psychology of the cold war and the ever-spiraling cost of new military hardware.<sup>26</sup>

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) also generated a number of items. In addition, items concerning nuclear testing were included in this subarea.

A few items, although discussing specific systems, placed emphasis on the arms race per se. For example, in a Reader's Digest article Stewart Alsop concluded that, "The arms race takes on ... a certain ineluctability--the weapons make the decisions, the people don't".<sup>27</sup>

A Newsweek article summed up the typical arguments used against the ABM system:

1. the contention that the ABM deployment would mark another major--and intrinsically dangerous--escalation of the arms race,
2. an evident wave of disbelief that the Russians for the foreseeable future could conceivably contrive to wipe out the

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<sup>26</sup>National Affairs, "The Scale Tips Against the ABM," Newsweek, LXXIV, 3 (July 21, 1969), 25.

<sup>27</sup>"MIRV and FOBS Spell Death," condensed from Saturday Evening Post, (April 6, 1968), July 1968, p. 134.

overkill capacity of the U.S.,

3. a rising conviction, bolstered by some impressive scientific testimony, that the ABM system won't really work, and

4. the manifestly deep-seated skepticism and distrust prompted by much of the information and theorizing that have come out of the Pentagon in recent years.<sup>28</sup>

In addition, some unfavorable items stressed the fear of nuclear accidents.

The first clouds had formed late last year [1968], when the U.S. Army announced the first of Sentinel's proposed locations. Local outcry--most of it over fear of accidental detonation--proved both loud and immediate.<sup>29</sup>

The following list of ABM advantages were paraphrased from an article by Henry Cabot Lodge, "A Citizen Looks at the ABM."

ABM provides:

1. a shield for U.S. Minuteman and B-52 forces,
2. a hedge against the Russian threat,
3. protection against nuclear blackmail and third country attack,
4. flexibility in disarmament talks, and
5. a position of strength for disarmament talks.<sup>30</sup>

Most ABM discussion involved variations of these general critical and supporting positions. A somewhat dramatic change of heart experienced by Senator Winston Prouty concerning the ABM was based solely on advantage number two.<sup>31</sup> Items on other weapon systems,

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<sup>28</sup>National Affairs, "Defense," LXXIII, 14 (April 7, 1969), 30.

<sup>29</sup>National Affairs, "Defense," Newsweek, LXXIII, 7 (February 17, 1969), 29.

<sup>30</sup>Reader's Digest, June 1970, p. 63.

<sup>31</sup>National Affairs, "Armaments," Newsweek, LXXIV, 4 (July 28, 1969), 39.

e. g. Polaris submarines or the Sea-Based Anti-Ballistic Missile System (SABMIS), also expressed many of these same positions.

On the arms limitations talks a favorable item did not have to take a position against disarmament. The official military position supports such efforts. Dr. John S. Foster, Jr., Director of Defense Research and Engineering, was quoted as follows in Armed Forces Management:

There is no intrinsic objection on the part of the Department of Defense to a joint MIRV test moratorium provided that appropriate collateral provisions [e.g. verification of adherence] are also implemented.<sup>32</sup>

And chief of the American SALT delegation, Gerard C. Smith, was quoted in U.S. News & World Report to the same effect:

The Secretary of Defense and other top Pentagon officials have testified before congressional committees and have stated in public addresses on a number of occasions that they believe the objectives of SALT are in the best interests of the United States and that they are hopeful for the success of SALT.<sup>33</sup>

Only the more extreme positions, such as unilateral actions or agreements with no provision for enforcement or suitable safeguards, were considered unfavorable.

Nuclear testing was not a major factor in this subarea but a few items were generated by events such as the return of the natives to the nuclear test island of Bikini. When emphasis was placed on

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<sup>32</sup>Defense Digest, "Foster Defends MIRV Rationale," XVI, 1 (October 1969), 20.

<sup>33</sup>"Can the Arms Talks Succeed," interview with Gerard C. Smith, LXIX, 24 (December 14, 1970), 63.



the dangers or hardships connected with such tests, these items were categorized as unfavorable.

Generally in all the Arms Race areas, support for a U.S. position of military strength was considered favorable. In this regard, items that emphasized the military strength of the USSR, reflecting the need for a strong U.S. military position, were also categorized as favorable.

#### Chemical-Biological (CB) Warfare

The Chemical-Biological (CB) Warfare issue was brought to public attention by several incidents during the 1968-1970 time period, particularly the cross country shipment and dumping of obsolete gas into the Atlantic. The immediate focus of attention was on the possibility of accidents.<sup>34</sup>

Another CB activity which recently received considerable criticism was the use of herbicides. The rising tide of ecological concern focused some unfavorable attention on the defoliation operations in Vietnam.

Favorable items generally supported the military position as described by Time:

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<sup>34</sup>In light of the attention paid to the shipment of obsolete gas it was interesting to note that shipment of many materials is hazardous, e.g., anhydrous ammonia, propane, vinyl chloride, gasoline and explosives. According to a Reader's Digest article, 200,000 bulk shipments of dangerous materials are made daily within the United States. Donald Robinson, "Danger! Hazardous Materials in Transit," Reader's Digest, May 1970, pp. 177-184.

The Pentagon's chief rationale for the CBW program is that the Russians are heavily engaged in the same thing--probably more so than the U.S.--and that the U.S. cannot allow a gas and pestilence gap to develop.<sup>35</sup>

Other supporting positions emphasized either the defensive nature of most U.S. CB research, the fact that it has yielded valuable contributions in the field of medicine or the humane aspects of using non-lethal chemicals instead of standard ordnance. Items covering the Nixon announcement of November 25, 1969, renouncing U.S. use of biological weapons, were also considered favorable.

#### Civic Action and Military Assistance

Civic Action and Military Assistance were considered to include all non-military activities performed by military personnel, individually or as part of an organized unit. The primary distinction was made with regard to location, Military Assistance applying only to foreign countries<sup>36</sup> and Civic Action to the United States. Military Assistance also included the furnishing of military training and equipment, an action which received both favorable and unfavorable comment. The range of activity within these two areas was extremely broad, from the effort of a single marine in preventing a robbery<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Time Essay, "The Dilemma of Chemical Warfare," XCIII, 26 (June 27, 1969), 20.

<sup>36</sup>Military Assistance carried out in Vietnam was included under the Vietnam War subject area.

<sup>37</sup>Harry Steeger, "Quick-Witted Hero," Argosy, CCCLXX, 6 (June 1970), 4-19.

to the loan of night vision devices for the study of vampire bats by the United Nations.<sup>38</sup>

Unfavorable items generally described situations in which the activity was, at least in part, unsuccessful. For example, a Life article on the 1970 U.S. mail strike indicated that the military handling of the situation was somewhat inept.<sup>39</sup>

#### Civil Defense

Appendix D shows that Civil Defense was included in several earlier books critical of the military and also in one published in 1969. In the latter, however, it received only passing mention:

The 1961 Berlin crisis, followed hard upon by the Soviet testing of a 50-megaton nuclear bomb, conjured up for a panicky America images of Armageddon--and no place to hide. The result was the fallout shelter boom.<sup>40</sup>

The shelter debate was a popular topic at that time but it is no longer a significant issue of national attention. The two items in which it was addressed both concerned themselves with the earlier period of controversy. "The great shelter boom, although well within range of the childhood memories of our newest teen-agers, is dead as a mackerel and gone from our minds."<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Arthur Fisher, "Science Newsfront: U.S. Army to Help Fight Vampire Bats," Popular Science, CXCV, 2 (August 1969), 24.

<sup>39</sup>Felix von Moschzisker, "Fall in for Mail Call," LXVIII, 12 (April 3, 1970), 26-29.

<sup>40</sup>Where Are They Now?, "Shelters Again?," Newsweek, LXXIV, 8 (August 25, 1969), 10.

<sup>41</sup>Roy Bongarts, "Remember Bomb Shelters?," Esquire, LXXIII, 5 (May 1970), 130.

### Civilian Spying

Civilian Spying was one of the most recent subareas to receive prominent public attention.

It was a onetime Army intelligence officer who touched off the furor. In the January [1970] issue of The Washington Monthly magazine, former Army Capt. Christopher Pyle, now a Ph. D. candidate at Columbia University, exposed the Army's clandestine civilian-watching in detail.<sup>42</sup>

This particular furor resulted eventually in Senate hearings which were held during March 1971 by the Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.<sup>43</sup> The chairman, Senator Sam Ervin, was decidedly opposed to such military activity: "The Army has no business operating data banks for surveillance of private citizens...."<sup>44</sup> His statement reflected the typical criticism in this subarea.

### Draft

The Draft received almost as much magazine coverage as the Vietnam War itself. "Hatred of the draft feeds hatred of the war, and vice versa."<sup>45</sup> Some anti-war demonstrations were aimed at both: "...the draft records have gone up in smoke like rice and lives around Ben Suc."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>National Affairs, "The Army," Newsweek, LXXV, 18 (May 4, 1970), 36.

<sup>43</sup>The Nation, "The Senate," Time, XCVII, 13 (March 29, 1971), 16.

<sup>44</sup>National Affairs, "The Army," loc. cit.

<sup>45</sup>Stewart Alsop, "Yale Revisited," Newsweek, LXXIII, 20 (May 19, 1969), 120.

<sup>46</sup>Joseph Roddy, "Case of the Jail-Bound Jesuit," Look, XXXIII, 8 (April 15, 1969), 63.

In this subarea, draft resistance, conscientious objection and even General Lewis Hershey were included as topics. The latter was included because of the popular opinion that "...Hershey's inveterate hawkishness has made him a symbol to the young of all that is wrong with the draft."<sup>47</sup> This situation was recognized by the General himself:

"The press made me into a big war hawk. Hell, I hate war. I have sent boys off to die in three wars. I didn't like to do that. I knew that civilian policy determined what I did. People sometimes give me credit for too much. I didn't start World War II or Korea or Viet Nam."<sup>48</sup>

Criticism of the draft itself existed on two levels: opposition based upon what was viewed as its inherent immorality or illegality; and opposition, not to the draft itself, but to its operational inequities. An example of the first was provided by Leo Roosten in Look: "...I consider the present draft impractical, unnecessary and morally indefensible."<sup>49</sup> George E. Reedy in his book, Who Will Do Our Fighting For Us?, provided a complete list of typical draft criticisms:

1. The system does not expose all qualified men equally to the risk of induction but provides legal havens for some.
2. The system is erratic in its operation, drafting men in some areas of the country who would be deferred in others.
3. The system keeps our young people in a prolonged state

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<sup>47</sup>The Nation, "The Draft: Moving Toward Equity," Time, XCIV, 13 (September 26, 1969), 19.

<sup>48</sup>Tom Buckley and Joseph Trento, "Where the General and the Kids Agree," True, LI, 400 (September 1970), 50.

<sup>49</sup>"To an Angry Old Man," XXXIII, 9 (April 29, 1969), 14.

of anxiety, unable to make coherent plans for the future.

4. The system, if it followed the letter of the law, would quickly empty all but our medical and dental graduate schools of all able-bodied men and create a serious gap in our intellectual resources.

5. The system, if it followed the letter of the law, would fill the ranks with overly qualified men at an age when there would be maximum discontent over a crucial interruption to their lifetime career plans.<sup>50</sup>

All of the criticisms on this list received magazine attention.

Focus on the draft as a necessary and reasonably equitable institution provided the basis for most of the favorable items. Also, those items which reported on improvements in the system, including the introduction of the lottery and the replacement of General Hershey, were considered favorable. However, not all comment on the lottery was favorable. Milton Friedman's analysis, prior to its enactment, included these criticisms:

The lottery shares the key defect of the present system, compulsory service by a minority of the young men of relevant age....

[It] makes service in the military subject to Lady Luck. It reduces the solemn obligation to serve one's country to the level of the Las Vegas gaming tables [and]....

It would increase sharply the number of young men who would have to be conscripted.<sup>51</sup>

Support for conscientious objection, as an honorable, legal alternative to the draft, was not considered to be unfavorable unless it involved selective objection to the Vietnam War or absolute noncooperation with the Selective Service system.

Support for the draft resistance movement as well as for

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<sup>50</sup>Reedy, Who Will Do Our Fighting For Us?, op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>51</sup>"The Draft Lottery," Newsweek, LXXIV, 1 (July 7, 1969), 78.

individual resisters or deserters was considered unfavorable. For example, Joan Baez and her husband, David Harris, received considerable sympathetic magazine treatment. Harris was the original founder of The Resistance, an anti-draft organization. In 1967 he was sentenced to a three-year jail term because of his refusal to be inducted.<sup>52</sup> Others such as Dr. Spock and Daniel Berrigan were also featured in many draft items. One writer even resorted to poetry:<sup>53</sup>

They couldn't lock up Dr. Spock  
For practicing his craft,  
Since doctors everywhere agree  
It's wise to shun a draft.<sup>54</sup>

The favorable items took the opposite side of the ad hominem argument.

### Ecology

Ecology is a relatively new area of public concern. The upsurge of interest was ironically described in True:

Saving the world has become big business. Ecology has exploded like an oil boom, spawning a deluge of promoters hustling everything from exhaust arresters and water purifiers to mammoth fund-raising campaigns....

Forests are cut down to furnish the paper for books, magazines, newsletters and fund-drive literature.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>William Hedgepeth, "We're Just Non-Violent Soldiers," Look, XXXIV, 9 (May 3, 1970), 58-65.

<sup>53</sup>Only one other poem was included in the content analysis, Ares, an anti-war poem by ex-senator Eugene Mc Carthy. McCallie, XCVII, 2 (November 1969), 80-81.

<sup>54</sup>Judith Wax, "That Was the Year That Was," Playboy, XVII, 1 (January 1970), 123.

<sup>55</sup>Alan Ternes, "Who's Saving What," LI, 403 (December 1970), 32.

The military becomes involved in this area primarily through the civil works program of the Corps of Engineers. Criticism was generally aimed at its destruction of our natural resources.

It's estimated that in ten years we will have blocked more than half of our rivers' natural flow, and 20 years later, 80 percent. But even those rivers that remain undammed will have been largely rendered lifeless by rip-rapping and channelization.<sup>56</sup>

In an article, "The Public Be Dammed," William O. Douglas tempered his lead sentence: "The Army Corps of Engineers is public enemy number one." But he then proceeded to build a case for exactly such an identification, based upon the theme that, "...the Corps has no conservation, no ecological standards. It operates as an engineer--digging, filling, damming the waterways. And when it finishes, America the beautiful is doomed."<sup>57</sup>

The only favorable Ecology items were two letters in defense of the work done by the Corps, and one excerpt which presented a favorable view of a joint Atomic Energy Commission-Corps of Engineers coastline erosion project.<sup>58</sup>

#### Foreign Policy Influence

Foreign policy is one of the specific governmental functions

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<sup>56</sup>James N. Miller and Robert Simmons, "Crisis on Our Rivers," Reader's Digest, December 1970, p. 82.

<sup>57</sup>Playboy, XVI, 7 (July 1969), 143 & 186.

<sup>58</sup>Arthur Fisher, Science Newsfront: "Salting the Oceans With Gold," Popular Science, CXCVII, 5 (November 1970), 14.



in which excessive military influence was feared. The items included in this area dealt primarily with those locations on the globe where foreign policy involves a U.S. military presence: the NATO countries, Okinawa, Korea and Japan.

Criticism was generally aimed at the maintenance of U.S. forces abroad in times of peace. Primary focus was on the cost, "We're paying Too Much for NATO,"<sup>59</sup> as well as the need, "For America, 'Europe Should be No. 1 Again'," The second article was an interview with the West German Finance Minister, Franz-Josef Strauss, in which he declared NATO to be "obsolete and anachronistic."<sup>60</sup>

The same topics also received favorable comment. The titles of these two articles make their positions self evident: "What NATO Did to Ease Load on U.S.,"<sup>61</sup> and "Don't Pull the GI's Out of Europe."<sup>62</sup>

One example of general criticism was contained in a letter by retired Brigadier General William Wallace Ford, a not infrequent critic of the military: "What needs to be said explicitly, is that no worthwhile reform of foreign policy can be made unless the heavy hand of the military-industrial complex can be wrested from control."<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Charles H. Percy, Reader's Digest, November 1970, pp. 115-118.

<sup>60</sup>U.S. News & World Report, LXVI, 2 (January 13, 1969), 54-56.

<sup>61</sup>U.S. News & World Report, LXIX, 24 (December 14, 1970), 53.

<sup>62</sup>J. Robert Moskin, Look, XXXIV, 8 (April 21, 1970), 82-84.

<sup>63</sup>Dear Playboy, "The Decent Society," Playboy, XVI, 4 (April 1969), 9-10.

And another was given in a quote from Senator Mansfield:

"It [the Defense Department] has commitments all over the world. Until the other day, when they closed some of them down, they had 148 bases in Japan....There are many times when we don't know whether it's the military or our State Department people who have the upper hand."<sup>64</sup>

#### Military-Academic Complex

Student protests throughout the 1968-1970 time period focused attention on the Military-Academic Complex. The bombing of the Army Mathematics Center at the University of Wisconsin, August 24, 1970, served as a particular highlight and perhaps as a turning point.

Part of the [Fall 1970] apathetic campus mood may also be attributable to a revulsion against the outrages committed in the name of protest, particularly the bombing of the University of Wisconsin's Army Mathematics Research center in August.<sup>65</sup>

The symbolic significance of such campus buildings devoted to military activities can be glimpsed from a description of the post-Kent State riot at Wisconsin:

One of the week's uglier battles took place on the scarred campus of the University of Wisconsin. "We're gonna open up a second front in Madison, Wisconsin," shouted one speaker at a smoldering student rally. "Are you ready to bleed?"

In seemingly automatic response, hundreds of students began moving up the hill toward the Army Mathematics Research

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<sup>64</sup>National Affairs, "The War: Nixon's Big Test," Newsweek, LXXIII, 13 (March 31, 1969), 22.

<sup>65</sup>Education, "Cesse-Fire on Campus," Newsweek, LXXVI, 16 (October 19, 1970), 79.

Center, part of what one student called "the war machine on campus."<sup>66</sup>

There were two basic elements of this subarea: military financing of campus research and development, and military "sponsorship" of civilian operated "Think Tanks" such as the Rand Corporation and the Research Analysis Corporation. The emphasis of criticism was decidedly on the first element.

General Shoup's definition of "Think Factories" provides one view of criticism in this area:

...extravagantly funded civilian organizations of scientists, analysts, and retired military strategists who feed new militaristic philosophies into the Defense Department to help broaden the views of the single service doctrinaires, to create fresh policies and new requirements for ever larger more expensive defense forces.<sup>67</sup>

One of the major criticisms of campus research was expressed in a 1955 Newspaper Guild Memorial Lecture by Henry Steele Commager:

It is natural that government should be sufficiently concerned with scientific research to finance it. In the process of ...farming out its projects to universities... government naturally indicates what it wants researched. Two things follow: Some degree of governmental dictation of the kind of research to be undertaken and some degree of governmental control over those who do the research and over the findings themselves....This is the very negation of the function of the university.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>National Affairs, "The Rebellion of the Campus," Newweek, LXXV, 20 (May 18, 1970), 29.

<sup>67</sup>Shoup, "The New American Militarism," op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>68</sup>"Federal Centralization of the Press," The Press in Perspective, ed. Ralph D. Casey (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), p. 120.

A somewhat different view was given by Senator Fulbright in a Playboy article:

Among the baneful effects of the Government-university contract system, the most damaging and corrupting are the neglect of the university's most important purpose, which is the education of its students, and the taking into the Government camp of scholars, especially those in the social sciences, who ought to be acting as responsible and independent critics of their government's policies.<sup>69</sup>

The Vietnam War has added a considerably more emotional factor.<sup>70</sup> Many now oppose military research because it assists in the conduct of the war and contributes to its destruction.

If U.S. colleges and universities want to stay in touch with the best of the new generation of students--and end campus violence--they will simply have to renounce all connections with military research and development. War work is an inappropriate and corrupting activity for an institution of higher education.<sup>71</sup>

Although most of the Military-Academic Complex protest was aimed at severing the bonds between the campus and the national defense establishment, several demonstrations were aimed at preventing just such an occurrence. In one case, Stanford students demonstrated for further integration between the University and the Stanford Research Institute, a non profit Stanford owned organization, in hopes of exerting greater student control over the Institute's

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<sup>69</sup>J. W. Fulbright, "For a New Order of Priorities at Home and Abroad," XV, 7 (July 1968), 153.

<sup>70</sup>One book review referred to the "...campus Pentagons--the professors who help wage the war in Vietnam." Books, Playboy, review of The Closed Corporation: American Universities in Crisis, XV, 12 (December 1968), 38.

<sup>71</sup>George B. Leonard, "A Bold Plan for Peace," Look, XXXIII, 12 (June 10, 1969), 78.

military operations.<sup>72</sup>

### Military Academies

As a separate subject, the Military Academies received little magazine attention. A recent article in Look drew several strong responses from its readers. One, "West Point molds patriotic, intelligent young men who believe in God, Home and Country," represented a particularly favorable position. And another, "So, this is West Point. The recruits are harassed, have their spirits broken, and emerge as men? Bull!",<sup>73</sup> exemplified the opposite.

The most indirect approach to this subject was provided by a Popular Science "Blueprint Project" featuring the Air Force Academy desk.<sup>74</sup> It noted that the student environment at the Academy was designed primarily for study.

### Military Budget

Discussion of the Military Budget was involved in many areas but a few items focused on it as their primary topic. Criticism of excessive military spending in general or in comparison with other sections of the budget was categorized as unfavorable. Reports of

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<sup>72</sup>Education, "From North to South," Newsweek, LXXIII, 21 (May 26, 1969), 76.

<sup>73</sup>Letters to the Editor, "West Point," XXXIV, 23 (November 17, 1970), 12.

<sup>74</sup>P.S. Blueprint Project, "Build This Air Force Academy Desk," CXCI, 5 (November 1968), 134-140.

cost reductions as well as defense of the military's budgetary needs were considered favorable.

A favorable example was provided by an item from Reader's Digest:

The explosive increase of federal spending during this decade is commonly attributed to the defense establishment-- or to the war in Vietnam. The fact is, however, that civilian programs are the preponderant cause of the U.S. budget's growth.<sup>75</sup>

The following statistics from U.S. News & World Report illustrated what defenders and critics of the military budget tended to stress.<sup>76</sup>

BUDGET YEAR	DEFENSE BUDGET (Billion)	DEFENSE SEGMENT OF TOTAL BUDGET(%)
1950 Pre-Korean War	14.1	5.0
1953 Korean War Peak	48.7	13.4
1965 Pre-Vietnam Escalation	50.1	7.3
1967 Vietnam Peak	72.4	9.1
1970 (2nd Qtr.)	77.1	7.9
1971 (2nd Qtr. Predicted)	71.0	6.9

Critics emphasized the rising costs in the second column while defenders focused on the third and its diminishing percentages.

#### Military-Congressional Complex

Sometimes treated as part of the Military-Industrial Complex, the Military-Congressional Complex received little separate attention. The usual focus was on those congressmen primarily involved with

<sup>75</sup> Press Section, "Tax Review: Where Our Money Goes," April 1970, p. 26.

<sup>76</sup> "For Defense: A Shrinking Share of Total Spending," LXIX, 6 (August 10, 1970), 30-31.

military affairs and generally considered to be "hawks". An example was Charles McCarry's article in Esquire on congressman Mendel Rivers.<sup>77</sup> Congressman Rivers was then the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and the article "explained" how he used this position for the mutual advantage of himself as well as the armed forces.

#### Military Economy

A few items were devoted solely to the theme that the national economy has become overly dependent upon the military budget and the manufacture of arms. Arguments based upon Stock Market fluctuations were used by both critics and supporters. For example the statement that, "...new peace probes or rumors generally send stock prices jumping upward,"<sup>78</sup> was used to show that the national economy is not war oriented. As with some of the other subject areas, favorable items were counter-argumentative.

#### Military-Industrial Complex

The Military-Industrial Complex has been variously defined as: "...a monster created by America and spawned by governmental and industrial greed, deception, propaganda and collusion,"<sup>79</sup> and as "...a tremendous asset to our nation and a fundamental source of our

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<sup>77</sup>"Ol' Man Rivers," LXXIV, 4 (October 1970), 168-171 & 211.

<sup>78</sup>The Nation, "Viet Nam: Trying to Buy Time." Time, XCIV, 13 (September 26, 1969), 18.

<sup>79</sup>Book Reviews, "Report from Wasteland," Ordnance, LIV, 30C (May-June 1970), 653.

national strength."<sup>80</sup>

In addition to the basic topic this subject area included the following subareas: procurement, management, research and development (Non-university--campus research and development was addressed separately above), defense industry hiring of retired military personnel, and military planning.

Much of the criticism was similar to that found under Militarism but its focus was aimed at the specific Military-Industrial Complex target. A Look article accurately described the situation:

What is the proper place of the nation's defense establishment in the Government and in American society? Has the military machine grown so large that it threatens to throw that society out of balance? Once again, critics are raising the specter of the "military-industrial complex"--the shorthand label for that combination of political, military and economic pressures that influence U.S. security policy, military strategy, armed forces and defense spending.<sup>81</sup>

And an article written by Senator Hartke provided a typical criticism:

Let me just say here that the [military-industrial complex's] M.I.C.'s influence is so pervasive that our society seems to be guided by the monster that it has created. An awesome amount of money and manpower is devoted to what social scientist Harold Lasswell of Yale once termed "the management of violence."

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<sup>80</sup>The Nation, "The Politician at the Pentagon," Time, XCIV, 9 (August, 29, 1969), 14. The change in attitude toward the Military-Industrial Complex was described by Senator Goldwater: "There is no way to overestimate the enormous attempt made to create a bogeyman out of the so-called MIC. Conveniently forgotten were such accurate World War II descriptions of America's defense machinery as the 'Arsenal of Democracy' and the 'Warehouse of Freedom'." The Conscience of a Majority (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 102.

<sup>81</sup>Charles W. Bailey and Frank Wright, "The Defense Establishment," LXIX, 33 (August 26, 1969), 17.



The development of new weaponry appears to find justifications that are independent of strategic considerations. The forces that sponsor and encourage the creation of expensive and often unworkable war machines are so powerful that they can resist even the most seasoned opposition.<sup>82</sup>

During 1968-1970 the C5-A cost overruns and F-111 failures provided substantial ammunition for many of the critics. Many of the items in this area quoted President Eisenhower's 1961 Farewell Address to support arguments both for and against the Military-Industrial Complex.

The majority of the favorable items were made up of small news reports, especially those in Popular Mechanics and Popular Science, almost all of which extolled the technical virtues of new military equipment or research and development projects.

Some items provided reactive positions, defenses of the Military-Industrial Complex against its critics. For example, a Life editorial claimed that:

...too much of the current distrust of the military spills over into a naive way of thinking which, on the left, makes "the military-industrial complex" into the same kind of sinister cliché that "the Communist conspiracy" is to the far right. After all, U.S. military preparedness has had a lot to do with keeping us out of a really big war for nearly 25 years,<sup>83</sup>

and in a speech, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird declared that:

"Much of the harsh criticism now being leveled at the military...is totally misplaced. Civilians decide our national-security policy; civilians decide the strategies we shall follow; civilians decide our forces structure, and civilians run the Department of Defense...the men and women

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<sup>82</sup>Vance Hartke, "The Peace Department," Playboy, XVII, 5 (May 1970), 230.

<sup>83</sup>"That Antimilitary Mood," LXVI, 11 (March 21, 1969), 38.

of our Armed Services execute these policies, with courage and determination and loyalty."<sup>84</sup>

During the selected time period research and development ranged the gamut from ABM and M-16 rifles to flying saucers. The closing of Air Force Project Blue Book in January 1970 did not cause immediate removal of, "UFOs are real, the Air Force doesn't exist",<sup>85</sup> bumper stickers, but most of the comment on this particular action was favorable.

As with many of the other areas, criticism of the Military-Industrial Complex was intertwined with the Vietnam War:

...it's the Pentagon that dominates big business, not the other way around; and the Vietnam war is the result not of capitalistic imperialism but of the insatiable institutional need of the "state-management" war machine to grow and perpetuate itself.<sup>86</sup>

#### Military-Local Community Complex

The Military-Local Community Complex area provided a microscopic view of the same criticisms included under Military Economy. Instead of considering the entire national economy as being dependent upon military expenditures this subject addressed the same type of dependence, but limited it to single communities located near a military base or industrial plant. "What would rock Sunnyvale's

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<sup>84</sup>Business and Finance, "The Military-Industrial Complex," Newsweek, LXXIII, 23 (June 9, 1969), 75.

<sup>85</sup>Defense Digest, "Flying Saucers Obsolete," Armed Forces Management, XVI, 4 (January 1970), 60.

<sup>86</sup>Books, Playboy, review of Pentagon Capitalism, XVII, 8 (August 1970), 24.

[California] economy would be an international arms control agreement."<sup>87</sup>

There were only two items and both provided some degree of balance.

### Public Information

Public Information did not receive very much magazine coverage but all that it did receive was unfavorable. Some observers viewed any activity of the military to advertise or promote itself as propaganda, and inherently noxious. Misinformation, misuse of security and military censorship received their share of the criticism. Although not from a magazine, the following quote exemplified the attitude of some observers:

The citizen officers who were on duty during the war say that secret is the Pentagon's synonym for embarrassing. Anything embarrassing to the Pentagon is classified secret, if very embarrassing, top secret is the classification.<sup>88</sup>

Several of the items discussed actions which occurred in, or were related to, the Vietnam War. For example, Newsweek carried an article concerning the suspension of a Baltimore Sun correspondent's press credentials for breaking the story of the Khe Sanh withdrawal<sup>89</sup> and Time reported dissent among military staffers of the Armed Forces Vietnam network because of alleged censorship.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>"Sunnyvale: Prunes to Missiles," Newsweek, LXXIII, 23 (9 June 1969), 77.

<sup>88</sup>Neblett, Pentagon Politics, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

<sup>89</sup>Press, "Suspended Judgment," LXXII, 7 (August 12, 1968), 79-80.

<sup>90</sup>The Press, "Flak from Officers," XCV, 3 (January 19, 1970), 60.

### Reserve Forces and National Guard

Most items concerning the Reserve Forces dealt with those units called to active duty following the Pueblo crisis. Criticism was generally leveled at their malassignment. For example, Time quoted an angry letter sent by one reservist to the President and Congress: "Never have I seen human resources so tragically misallocated. Never have I experienced conditions so calculated to destroy the human spirit."<sup>91</sup> Similar criticisms had been made during the 1961 Berlin crisis call up.

The National Guard became a subject of national interest primarily due to its involvement at Kent State.

The tragic turn of events at Kent State focused nationwide attention on the National Guard--its training, its leadership and the guidelines under which it operates when it goes into action to quell civil disturbances.<sup>92</sup>

Improper training was the prime focus of this criticism.

### ROTC

The time period 1968-1970 saw a rather drastic increase in opposition to ROTC. During the 1968-1969 academic year 95 anti-ROTC incidents were reported. This figure jumped to over 400 for the following year.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>The Nation, "Defense," XCII, 2 (July 12, 1968), 19.

<sup>92</sup>National Affairs, "Who Guards Against the Guard?," Newsweek, LXXIV, 20 (May 18, 1970), 33F.

<sup>93</sup>"Behind the Drive to Destroy ROTC," U.S. News & World Report, LXVIII, 26 (June 29, 1970), 20.

An editorial in Armed Forces Management provided a dismal summary of the present ROTC situation:

... [ROTC] is poorly defended, both legally and polemically, by its sponsors; not up to snuff in some cases academically; victimized privately by college faculties who, in many cases, object more to the title given an ROTC professor than to the military connotation; and increasingly, it is becoming a southern phenomenon.<sup>94</sup>

The fundamental anti-ROTC position held that the purposes and techniques of ROTC instruction were, in themselves, totally incompatible with basic academic goals and objectives.

ROTC is a constant reminder of the presence and influence of the military. The military manner, the guns in the campus armory, the punishment drills, the discipline in command, all these things grate on any sense of the university as a free community of scholars.<sup>95</sup>

Typical defenses either refuted some of these specific criticisms or supported ROTC because it provided a necessary haven within the military organization. "With their civilian schooling, these [ROTC] officers assure that our military continues to be representative of American society."<sup>96</sup> One letter stated a not uncommon defense, but in a rather unique style:

...those who seek to eliminate [ROTC] from the college curriculum because the classes lack academic qualities and

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<sup>94</sup>Michael Getler, "Editorial: Trouble in the Ranks," XVI, 9 (June, 1970), 11.

<sup>95</sup>The Playboy Panel, "Student Revolt," Playboy, XVI, 9 (September 1969), 114.

<sup>96</sup>Kenneth Y. Tomlinson, "ROTC Under Attack," Reader's Digest, November 1969, p. 238.

are "boring trade school courses" might well examine a few other programs.

Classes such as headline writing, photography, classroom bulletin boards, pottery, jewelry, ballroom dancing, golf, horseback riding and--hang on to your hat--family planning and marital relations seem hardly more academic than "military staff operations".

...My wife and I received credit for most of the aforementioned courses and at highly accredited Western universities too. Admittedly, that coeducational ballroom dancing class was tough; I pulled a C.<sup>97</sup>

As with many of the other subject areas ROTC was interconnected with the Vietnam War. "The Pentagon after detailed investigation reported that most of the [anti-ROTC] violence was intended as a protest against the war in Southeast Asia."<sup>98</sup>

#### Strategic Intelligence

The fairly recent Pueblo and EC-121 incidents helped to focus public attention upon the strategic intelligence activities of the Defense Department. (The Pueblo incident is addressed separately below under Incidents.) The earlier Liberty incident, in June 1967, had a similar effect at that time.

Favorable items stressed the importance and necessity for such operations. For example: "U.S. spy satellites are a factor for peace in the U.S. view. They are vital to any further progress in U.S.-Soviet talks on mutual disarmament,"<sup>99</sup> and

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<sup>97</sup>Letters, "Officers and Scholars," Time, XCIII, 12 (March 21, 1969), 6.

<sup>98</sup>"Behind the Drive to Destroy ROTC," loc. cit.

<sup>99</sup>"'Spies in Space': They Make an Open Book of Russia," U.S. News & World Report, LXV, 11 (September 9, 1968), 72.

Today, more than ever, it is important that the American public understand that effective intelligence-gathering is crucial to the security of this country, and to all who rely on America's protective shield.<sup>100</sup>

Items explaining the technical competence of strategic intelligence systems were also considered favorable.

Criticism generally took the opposite approach and focused on the danger versus effectiveness ratio. "I can't conceive of any information these [spy] planes pick up that warrants the kind of risk they are taking,"<sup>101</sup> was a comment made by Senator Fulbright following the EC-121 incident.

#### VIETNAM WAR

Although the Vietnam War was included in the content analysis no attempt was made to examine it except as it impinged upon the military image. Its many facets went well beyond the scope of this thesis. The Vietnam War was considered by many observers to be the most important factor in the rising tide of military criticism, and as such, could not have been excluded from the analysis.

Although the subject is listed as the Vietnam War it included items concerning military action in Laos and Cambodia as well. The widening of military activity in Southeast Asia was evidenced by

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<sup>100</sup>Carl T. ROWAN, "We Need 'Spy' Ships and Planes," Reader's Digest, September 1969, p. 123.

<sup>101</sup>National Affairs, "An Exercise in Restraint," Newsweek LXXIII, 17 (April 28, 1969), 31.

Newsweek's change of section titles from "The War in Vietnam" to "The War in Indochina" with the May 11, 1970 issue. Time had already noted this changed circumstance the previous month: "Now...the conflict in Southeast Asia has come to be known by a far more encompassing term: the War in Indochina"<sup>102</sup>

Criticism ranged from opposition to the U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia to disparaging descriptions of the government we support in Vietnam. One Newsweek reader believed that "...the principal issue of the Vietnamese war [was]: shall a corrupt military dictatorship endure as the voice of the people?"<sup>103</sup> Items supporting peace marchers or reporting public discontent with the war were considered unfavorable. Reports of battle casualties and war-induced hardships were also considered unfavorable.

Specific Allied military successes as well as general progress, such as improvement in the Vietnamization program, were treated as favorable. Items on individual and collective acts of courage and successful military assistance work were also categorized as favorable.

Because of the large amount of coverage given to the POW problem it was treated as a separate subarea. Support for the return of the POWs and criticism of their treatment by the North Vietnamese was considered favorable. Most items in this subarea were favorable

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<sup>102</sup>The World, "The Three-Theater War," XCV, 15 (April 13, 1970), 28.

<sup>103</sup>Letters, "Vietnam: 'For Good or Bad'," LXXIV, 3 (July 21, 1969), 7.



because it received "biapartisan" support.

One unfavorable theory considered the POWs as a "diplomatic bargaining counter" for Hanoi and a handicap for the U.S. negotiating position.<sup>104</sup> The raid on the Son Tay POW camp was given mixed coverage: praise for its objective and the courage of the raiders, criticism for its result and possible detrimental effects on the POWs,<sup>105</sup> The following letter was a particularly severe example:

The awarding of decorations to four of the men who participated in the Son Tay flop is closely parallel to the presentation of awards to fliers in "Catch-22" for bombing the ocean. The two were similarly non-productive, but better to pass out a few cheap medals than admit that an error has occurred. We certainly don't want the United States military establishment to look ridiculous.<sup>106</sup>

And finally, the suffering of the POW wives, covered in detail in articles such as, "Living With Uncertainty: Families Who Wait Back Home,"<sup>107</sup> was included as an unfavorable aspect of this subject.

#### PERSONNEL

This area included all those aspects of military life that

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<sup>104</sup>The War in Indochina, "Hanoi's Pawns: The U.S. Prisoners of War," Newsweek, LXXVI, 22 (November 30, 1970), 31.

<sup>105</sup>The War in Indochina, "Operation Successful, Results Nil," Newsweek, LXXVI, 23 (December 7, 1970), 26-28.

<sup>106</sup>Letters, "Son Tay," Newsweek, LXXVI, 26 (December 28, 1970), 5.

<sup>107</sup>The Nation, Time, XCVI, 23 (December 7, 1970), 18-19.

are generally the concern of the individual soldier. Most of them were entwined with the other basic subject areas, such as the Vietnam War or Incidents but occasionally they became the primary focus of separate letters or articles.

### Career

All items that addressed the individual advantages and disadvantages of service life were listed under the Career subject area. These items may not have explicitly concerned themselves with the choice of the military as a permanent career but the factors addressed were certainly among those that would affect such a choice.

The rising feminist movement apparently triggered some items regarding treatment of women within the military. A letter from a female Air Force lieutenant complained that:

...at the present time, married men in the service may collect a housing allowance regardless of the economic condition of their wives, but a married female cannot collect a housing allowance even if she totally supports her husband. This, and other sex-oriented disparities, are alienating many able women who would otherwise find military life pleasant and highly productive.<sup>108</sup>

On the other hand, the promotion of the first two women generals in U.S. history received some favorable attention.<sup>109</sup>

Several of the women's magazines discussed the inherent difficulties of service marriages in articles like, "How Servicemen's

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<sup>108</sup>Letters, "Alienating the Able," Time, XCVI, 20 (November 16, 1970), 11.

<sup>109</sup>Newsmakers, Newsweek, LXXV, 25 (June 22, 1970), 49.

Marriages Survive Separation."<sup>110</sup> And Time included one of this same type:

By necessity, the U.S. armed services often separate men from their wives for a year or more. Several recent psychiatric studies indicate that for most of the marriages, absence can make a wife's heart grow gloomy, resentful, alcoholic, hypochondriacal or even suicidal well before thoughts of adultery or divorce set in.<sup>111</sup>

The categorization of human interest Career items was based upon the main character's expressed position. For example, a Reader's Digest article on the experience of a Navy nurse was categorized as favorable because of her opinion: "I look back on my four years of working with amputees as the most rewarding time of my life."<sup>112</sup>

Of all the magazines, Ebony had the largest number of Career items and most were favorable. For example: "Black Coed at Armed Forces College," about Air Force major, Bernice McGhee, the first black woman to attend the Armed Forces Staff College; and "Master of Air Defense," about Air Force major, James J. Kelley, commander of the 924th Aircraft Control and Warning Squadron, Saglik Bay, Canada were typical of Ebony's coverage.<sup>113</sup>

The "News You Can Use" department of U.S. News & World Report contained numerous excerpts describing various service benefits.

<sup>110</sup>Jean Whitbread, Redbook, CXXXII, 6 (April 1969), 94 & 146-148.

<sup>111</sup>Behavior, "Marriage," XCIII, 26 (June 27, 1969), 78.

<sup>112</sup>Sandra Kirkpatrick, "Hey Hero!", September 1970, p. 75.

<sup>113</sup>XXVI, 1 (November 1970), 108-112 and XXIV, 12 (October 1969), 124-130.

These were all included as favorable except when they contained only administrative information.

Unfavorable items generally stressed the bureaucratic structure of the military and its low career status:

...intelligence is wasted because there is no place for rational thinking in the Army. Soldiers are put through basic training to numb their higher mental faculties (abstract creative thought) and to teach them to react by conditioned reflex, like Pavlov's dogs.<sup>114</sup>

By 1970, lack of job opportunities for Vietnam veterans and the "meager benefits" of the GI Bill of Rights also drew some anti-career comments.

### Dissent

Public opposition to the Vietnam War and the Draft spilled over into the military. During the 1968-1970 time period there were reports of military Dissent throughout the world.

Some items covered specific events such as the refusal by 43 soldiers at Fort Hood to go on riot duty.<sup>115</sup> While others treated Dissent as a military wide epidemic, affecting all ranks:

Even among the military, men who have held vital command posts are breaking with military tradition to speak out against the war--Rear Admiral Arnold E. True, Brigadier General William Wallace Ford, Brigadier General Hugh B. Hester, General Matthew E. Ridgway, Lieutenant General James M. Gavin and General David M. Shoup, former Marine Corps commandant.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>The Playboy Forum, "Reforming the Army," Playboy, XVII, 4 (April 1970), 56.

<sup>115</sup>The Nation, "Armed Forces," Time, XCII, 11 (September 13, 1968), 22-23.

<sup>116</sup>Nat Hentoff, "The War on Dissent," Playboy, XV, 9 (September 1968), 252.

All reports about Dissent or human interest items sympathetic to the dissenters were considered unfavorable. Most of the items of this latter type were written about the GI coffeehouses and GI underground newspapers, two relatively new antimilitary phenomena.

A Life article, "You Can't Just Hand Out Orders," described dissent as a typical way of life in Vietnam.<sup>117</sup> It portrayed a new military permissiveness which considered marijuana and disobedience as commonplace and acceptable. Several items complained about "...the arbitrariness of command officers and the denial to dissidents of basic constitutional rights."<sup>118</sup>

Only a few items addressed the military position favorably. One that did was a Life interview with Marine General, Lewis Walt: "...dissent erodes discipline, and when discipline goes men die needlessly."<sup>119</sup> And another was a letter to The Playboy Forum:

The Army is an organization whose life depends on the discipline of man by man. Laws and regulations are secondary; it is the personal authoritarian relationship, the habits of giving and obeying orders, that keep the Army going.<sup>120</sup>

### Drugs

The rising drug problem in the United States was reflected within the military but, because of the situation in Vietnam, this

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<sup>117</sup>John Saar, LXIX, 17 (October 23, 1970), 30-37.

<sup>118</sup>Books, Playboy, review of Up Against the Brass and GI's Speak Out Against the War, XVII, 9 (September 1970), 42.

<sup>119</sup>Frank McCulloch, "Law Walt: 'When Discipline Goes, Men Die Needlessly'," LXVI, 20 (May 23, 1969), 36.

<sup>120</sup>"Happy in the Army," Playboy, XVII, 9 (September 1970), 76.

reflection was greatly magnified.

Marijuana is as easy to buy in Vietnam as beer--and its a lot cheaper.

Prices range from 5 to 15 cents per cigarette. And narcotics experts report that the marijuana available in South Vietnam is of the strongest variety--with a greater "kick" than the kind sold in the U.S., much of which is smuggled in from Mexico.<sup>121</sup>

Criticism involved not only the basic problem of drug use but also the military's initial denial of its existence. Development of new treatment programs and other activities taken to reduce the problem were covered in favorable items.

### Education and Training

Few items were devoted to military Education and Training. Support for military requirements, methods and techniques were considered favorable. For example, an article in Look, "The Marine Machine" portrayed Parris Island training as tough but explained why it had to be so: "Marines do not train too hard. Not for war."<sup>122</sup> Criticism of these same factors was categorized as unfavorable.

### Leadership

Items on Leadership, with few exceptions, dealt with general or flag officers. Many were obituaries or news reports of high level reassignments. The death of General Eisenhower evoked numerous sympathetic articles in which his military experiences were favorably

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<sup>121</sup>"Marijuana-The Other Enemy in Vietnam," U.S. News & World Report, LXVIII, 4 (January 26, 1970), 68.

<sup>122</sup>Thomas Barry, XXXIII, 16 (August 12, 1969), 25 [*Italics in original*].

recounted. For many he epitomized "...the ancient and honorable ideal of the soldier-citizen, whom destiny called."<sup>123</sup>

Reviews of the movie Patton were also included in this area. They were both favorable and unfavorable. The following is a sample, from one of the latter: "...Patton, a man much given to confusing himself with God, and war with life--a congenital confusion of generals in every war."<sup>124</sup> The editorial approach in a number of the Leadership items was ambiguous. In some items military qualities were praised but the absence of some other essential personal characteristic was also noted. For example, "Bull Halsey is the perfect man to send on a military operation but he must never participate in the decision on whether or not to go,"<sup>125</sup> was a quote attributed to President Kennedy.

#### Medical

The Medical subject area included both human interest items concerning medical treatment and news items on medical research and development. Several articles, such as "The Long Return of Warrant Officer Meade," and "Your Son Has Been Wounded," dealt with specific cases in which military personnel received commendable treatment.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup>"Eisenhower 1890-1969," Life, LXVI, 13 (April 4, 1969) 53.

<sup>124</sup>Michael V. Korda, "Novies," Glamour, LXIV, 2 (October 1970) 76.

<sup>125</sup>Letters to the Editors, "The Presidency," Life, LXIX, 2 (July 1970), 22A.

<sup>126</sup>Joseph P. Blank, Reader's Digest, December 1970, pp. 73-77 and Margaret W. Gokay, Reader's Digest, September 1969, pp. 63-67.

One very critical article in Life was not included in the analysis since it was concerned with the Veteran's Administration hospitals, which were considered outside the military affairs arena.<sup>127</sup>

Military psychiatry fared rather poorly in one item about an Army psychiatrist suing for his discharge. It quoted his view that, "Military psychiatry is a contradiction in terms."<sup>128</sup>

### Military Justice

The recent increase of protest and dissent within the services brought the subject of Military Justice under public scrutiny. The events covered by Robert Sherrill, in Military Justice is to Justice as Military Music is to Music, were typical of those receiving magazine coverage. The following quote was from a friendly review of the book in Playboy:

In addition to the Presidio case, Sherrill looks searchingly into the trial of Captain Howard Levy, the systematic military campaign against the GI coffeehouses, the widespread brutality inside stockades and briggs and other denials to Servicemen of their basic rights.<sup>129</sup>

The court martial of Lt. Calley for the My Lai incident also served as a springboard for some items on the more general subject

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<sup>127</sup>Charles Childs, "Assignment to Neglect," LXVIII, 19 (May 22, 1970) 24-33.

<sup>128</sup>Behavior, "The Military Psychiatrist," Time, XCVI, 4 (July 27, 1970), 52.

<sup>129</sup>Books, XVII, 6 (June 1970), 32. Playboy had little choice in its review since part of Sherrill's book had appeared in that magazine as, "Justice Military Style," XVII, 2 (February, 1970), 120-122 & 214-228. That particular article drew a laudatory letter in response from Look senior editor, Frank Trippett. Dear Playboy, "Military Justice," XVII, 5 (May 1970), 12.



of Military Justice. For example, a Time item on the Calley trial quoted a Harvard law professor: "I don't think any court-martial can be fair with the kind of control the military has over its men."<sup>130</sup>

The principal criticism of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) focused on the excessive command influence it permitted.

Across the political spectrum, critics accuse the military of stacking its juries, muzzling defense attorneys, trying defendants under vague, catchall regulations, trampling on their constitutional rights and, above all, allowing commanding officers to exert improper influence over the proceedings.<sup>131</sup>

Several reforms<sup>132</sup> enacted in August 1969 received favorable coverage but did not satisfy all the critics. One of them, a military officer in the Judge Advocate General Corps, proposed even further action:

After five and a half years in the Army JAG Corps, I am overwhelmingly convinced that, in the words of Justice Douglas, the military is "singularly inept" at administering a judicial system. As long as the Pentagon insists on a Selective Service System to provide men, the American public should equally insist on quick Congressional action to remove "justice" from the realm of the military to the civilian domain for all UCMJ offenses except minor military disciplinary ones such as AWOL and desertion.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>130</sup>The Law, "Can Calley Get a Fair Trial?," XCIV, 26 (December 26, 1969), 22.

<sup>131</sup>National Affairs, "U.S. Military Justice on Trial," Newsweek, LXXVI, 9 (August 31, 1970), 18.

<sup>132</sup>Reforms included: 1. The accused was entitled to a military lawyer, 2. Commanders cannot give a legal staff member an unfavorable rating for zealous defense of clients, and 3. Military judges will preside at general and most special courts martials and report directly to the Judge Advocate General. The Law, "Rough Test for Military Justice," Time, XCIV, 14 (October 3, 1969), 30-31.

<sup>133</sup>Letters, "Military Justice," Newsweek, LXXVI, 14 (October 5, 1970), 10.

### Race Relations

The items in the Race Relations subarea involved specific racial incidents, such as those that occurred at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina and Hohenfels, Germany, as well as discussions of general racial problems. The prohibition of the Afro haircut, discrimination in promotions and segregated recreation facilities were typical problems that were addressed in both letters and articles.

An example of one general type criticism was provided by Fletcher Knebel in Look:

The vast and powerful defense establishment is dominated by WASPs. While the enlisted military ranks, like the Federal Civil Service, are a blend of America's ethnic groups, the officer class is heavily WASP. Catholics are a small minority, and Jewish general officers are rare. Only one Negro holds high rank, Lt. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. There is a greater mixture among junior officers, but Negroes still fare poorly despite the large Negro GI contingent in Vietnam.<sup>134</sup>

Support for the military in this subarea was usually on a relative basis. It focused on attempts at improvement or favorably compared the status of Race Relations within the military with that within American society as a whole. An Ebony book review provided an example of this comparative approach: "According to this recent study [Integration of the Negro in the U.S. Armed Forces], the U.S. Military is ahead of the rest of the nation in providing equal opportunities for non-whites."<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup>"The Wasps: 1968," LXVIII, 32 (July 23, 1968), 70.

<sup>135</sup>Ebony Book Shelf, XXIII, 10 (August 1968), 24.

The items in this area were primarily devoted to black racial problems. One Newsweek article criticized the Navy for its practice of using Phillipine mess stewards, but it was the only exception.<sup>136</sup>

#### INCIDENTS

During the 1968-1970 time period the military experienced a considerable number of events which, for the purpose of simplicity, have all been listed as Incidents. Four were of major national interest and have been treated as separate subareas: Kent State, My Lai, Green Berets and Pueblo. All of the incidents that received magazine coverage are listed in Table 3. Some occurred before 1968 but were featured in "Remember When ..." type items. Numerous other incidents associated with CB Warfare, Dissent, ROTC, the Military-Academic Complex, Race Relations and the Military-Industrial Complex were included under those subject areas. Most of these other incidents were not of national significance by themselves and the items in which they were discussed frequently addressed the broader subject area as well as the specific incident.

Since incidents only develop when something goes wrong they are inherently unfavorable. Time's conclusion about the Green Berets could be applied to almost every incident, "The case of the accused Green Berets...ended last week in much the way it had begun, by tainting nearly everyone involved in it."<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>136</sup>National Affairs, "Armed Forces," LXXVI, 19 (November 9, 1970), 32-33.

<sup>137</sup>The Nation, "Berets: Gone But Not Forgotten," XCXV, 15 (October 10, 1969), 19.

Table 3

## MILITARY INCIDENTS

## Pre-1968

- 1 May 1960. U-2 Plane piloted by Francis Gary Powers shot down over Russia.
1960. False radar echoes received by NORAD appeared to be a Russian attack.
- 7 Jun. 1960. Bomarc at Mc Guire Air Force Base accidentally triggered.
- 4 Nov. 1965. Court Martial of Captain Archie Kuntze for black marketing in Vietnam.
- 17 Jan. 1966. U.S. B-52 bomber collided with a Strategic Air Command KC-135 during re-fueling. The Crash near Palomares, Spain released four unarmed hydrogen bombs.
- 21 Mar. 1966. Navy Lt. Commander Marcus Arnheiter relieved of command for "gross lack of judgment."
- 1966-1967. Waste pumped into wells at Rocky Mountain Arsenal triggered minor earthquakes.
- 8 Jun. 1967. Navy communications ship Liberty attacked by Israeli jets and PT boats.
- 10 Aug. 1967. Sinking of old ammunition in SS Robert L. Stevenson off Anchika fails.
- 17 Dec. 1967. Fire aboard USS Kitty Hawk.
- 23 Dec. 1967. Fire aboard USS Kearsarge.

## 1968

- 22 Jan. B-52 crashed at North Star Bay, Greenland and released four unarmed hydrogen bombs.
- 23 Jan. USS Pueblo captured by North Korea. (Crew released 23 Dec.)
- 30 Jan. Nuclear submarine Seawolf ran aground off Cape Cod.
- 31 Jan. Destroyer Rowan collides with Soviet merchant ship Kapitan Vislobokov in the Sea of Japan.
- 6 Feb. USS Boche runs aground off the Greek island of Rhodes.
- 9 Feb. Fleet-oiler Severn runs aground on Newton Rock off Rhode Island.
- 11 Apr. Aircraft Carrier Independence collided with ammunition ship Wrangell off the coast of South Carolina.

Table 3 (continued)

27 May. Submarine Scorpion reported missing in Atlantic. (Wreckage discovered 31 October).

1 Jul. Seaboard World Airlines flight forced to land on Soviet Kuriles enroute to Vietnam.

## 1969

14 Jan. Fire occurred on Board Aircraft Carrier Enterprise.

17 Feb. Navy aquanaut, Berry L. Cannon, died while engaged in the Man in the Sea project.

14 Apr. Navy EC-121 reconnaissance plane was shot down by North Korea.

15 May. Unfinished nuclear submarine Guitarro sunk at its dock at Mare Island Navy Yard in San Francisco Bay.

23 May. Air Force sergeant crashed a C-130 stolen from Mildenhall Air Base, near London, England.

2 June. US Destroyer Frank E. Evans collided with Australian aircraft carrier Melbourne and cut in half.

6 Aug. Army announced that eight Special Forces (Green Beret) personnel were arrested in Vietnam and charged with murder.

5 Oct. MIG-17 flew from Cuba to Florida undetected.

6-23 Oct. Senate permanent Subcommittee on investigations held hearings on General Carl C. Turner and Sgt. Major Wooldridge.

13 Nov. My Lai massacre reported by press. (incident occurred in March 1968)

## 1970

10 Apr. Life article on use of the Navy gunnery range on the island of Culebra. Range established in 1941 but islanders now demanding that the Navy cease fire.

4 May. Four students killed by National Guard at Kent State University.

21 Oct. An Army U-8 aircraft with MG Scherrer and BG McQuarrie on board strayed over Turkish border and was forced down in Russia (Released by Russians on 10 November).

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Items frequently tended to merge institutions and individuals.

Any criticisms of the individuals involved in an incident or their respective service was considered unfavorable. Only items which supported either the individuals or their service but criticized neither was listed as favorable. For example, a letter supporting the Green Berets describing the,

...public anger at our military and national leader's disregard of the Uniform Code of Military Justice...Why were these men confined under intolerable conditions without charges being brought against them?,<sup>138</sup>

and another supporting the My Lai participants,

Lieutenant Calley, Captain Medina and others who were charged with murder are as much pawns in this ugly war as the innocent women and children who were massacred. I cannot help but feel that the military bureaucracy must somehow be humanized,<sup>139</sup>

were both categorized as unfavorable.

Typical Kent State criticisms were listed by Playboy's editors in refuting a letter written in support of the National Guard:

The provocation at Kent State could have been brought under control by use of tear gas or arrests.

The National Guardsmen were not hurt and none was in danger of losing his life.

The shootings were unnecessary.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>138</sup>Letters to the Editors, "Green Berets," Life, LXVII, 19 (November 7, 1969), 28A.

<sup>139</sup>Dear Playboy, "Anatomy of Anatomy," Playboy, XVII, 11 (November 1970), 10.

<sup>140</sup>The Playboy Forum, "Shooting the Wrong Kids," XVII, 11 (November 1970), 74.

Many Kent State items focused on the theme that the victims were non-radicals and not even participants in the rioting. They were generally sympathetic with the students and supported the claim that, "...all available evidence indicated that the four dead students were probably innocent bystanders."<sup>141</sup>

As noted above, the Kent State incident served as a stimulus for examining the status of the entire National Guard. In like fashion, criticism of the Green Berets incident went far beyond Col. Rheault and the other defendants. "In future articles, the Special Forces should perhaps be named for what it is--the American SS,"<sup>142</sup> was the way one Newsweek reader expressed it.

The Pueblo incident provided the best, or worst depending upon the point of view, examples of polarized criticism. Not since the USS Chesapeake was captured by the British in 1807 had a Navy ship been taken in peacetime. Yet the public in general received the participants as heroes and "the Navy aroused the country's wrath by merely considering punishment for the Pueblo crew."<sup>143</sup> Time's unfavorable view was typical: "...the Navy was totally unprepared to protect Pueblo on a mission the hazards of which had been shrugged off at every level of command."<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup>National Affairs, "My God! They're Killing Us," Newsweek, LXXV, 20 (May 18, 1970), 32.

<sup>142</sup>Letters, "Special Forces: SS Troops?", LXXIV, 10 (September 8, 1969), 4.

<sup>143</sup>Fred Gardner, The Unlawful Concert (New York: Viking Press, 1970), p. 208.

<sup>144</sup>The Nation, "Investigations: Catch-68," XCIII, 6 (February 7, 1969), 19.

This incident also generated a few items on the Code of Conduct and they were included together with the more specific Pueblo items. "By reason of having confessed to spying on North Korea, each of the crewmen had violated the prescribed standards of military conduct."<sup>145</sup> The Code specifically states: "I will make no oral or written statements disloyal to my country...."<sup>146</sup> Since the Code expresses current military doctrine, any criticism of it was considered to be unfavorable.

Of all the recent incidents My Lai generated the most military criticism. None of the magazine items develop as complete a theme as did the book by Seymour Hersh,<sup>147</sup> but even his treatment of My Lai as a unique and isolated event would have had to have been categorized as unfavorable. Favorable items generally contrasted the My Lai incident with Viet Cong atrocities, especially those that occurred at Hue; explained it as understandable, based on the ambiguous distinction between combatant and civilian in Viet Nam; or, held it up as proof of the paucity of such actions, common in all wars, since it was the only significant one reported.

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<sup>145</sup>National Affairs, "The Pueblo," Newsweek, LXXIII, 8 (March 3, 1969), 23.

<sup>146</sup>Department of the Army, AR 350-30, Education and Training, Code of Conduct, November 12, 1964, p. 9

<sup>147</sup>This theme was represented by a quote from Ron Grzesik, a member of Lt. Calley's platoon. "It was like going from one step to another, worse one...First, you'd stop the people, question them and let them go. Second, you'd stop the people, beat up an old man, and let them go. Third, you'd stop the people, beat up an old man, and then shoot him. Fourth, you go in and wipe out a village." My Lai 4 (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 43.



# OUTDATED SUBJECTS

Some of the subject areas listed in Appendix D no longer appeared to be of major public interest or concern. For example, Interservice and Intraservice Rivalry did not receive the attention today that it did in the past. The 1948 "revolt of the admirals" and the Air Force-Army missile race of the late 1950s were well publicized at that time but there have been no equivalent events during the last few years. This may have been the result of ex-Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara's management policies.

One of McNamara's biggest achievements was to impose firm civilian rule on the generals. Another was to demand--and get--a degree of coordination among the services' missions and programs that had been unheard of before his time.<sup>148</sup>

The Military-Religious Complex was discussed in John Swomley's book, The Military Establishment (see Appendix D). None of the magazine items approached this subject in any fashion. It appears to be an area of criticism over which Swomley can lay claim to sole possession. This may have been an area of critical concern in 1964 but it was not in 1970. In fact the opposite situation may prevail. Seymour Melman listed all the elements of potential opposition to "State-Management", his term for the Military-Industrial Complex, in the book Pentagon Capitalism. "A major part of the clergy" was near the top of the list.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup>The Nation, "The Politician at the Pentagon," Time, XCIV, 9 (August 29, 1969), 17.

<sup>149</sup>(New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970), p. 213.

The Military-Right Wing complex was covered in three of the books published in the early 1960s. The "Danger on the Right" hypothesis apparently lost its impact following the 1964 national elections and the declining interest was reflected in the present lack of military criticism in this area.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONTENT ANALYSIS RESULTS

"In any controversy, if there are a thousand wrongs on one side and one wrong on the other, it is possible to cite one wrong on each side and to point out that neither side is perfect."<sup>1</sup>

Herbert L. Block

### COMPOSITE VIEW

Can the following complaint by a journalist be applied to the military: "Unlike the physician, the scientist, the lawyer, clergyman, or engineer, who are judged by their noblest works as a rule, the journalist is generally assessed by his worst performances."<sup>2</sup> Is the military judged only by its "worst performances?" Based on the total content analysis the answer must be "no". Considering the amount of criticism recently given to areas such as the Vietnam War and the Military-Industrial Complex, it is a somewhat surprising answer. The following statistics show the overall results of the content analysis. The favorable items are outnumbered by the unfavorable, but the 12.8 percent difference between them is not overwhelming. The ratio of favorable to unfavorable items was 1/1.4.

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<sup>1</sup>"An Independent Press," The Press in Perspective, ed. Ralph D. Casey (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), p. 138.

<sup>2</sup>John Hohenberg, The News Media: A Journalist Looks at His Profession (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 7.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number of Items</u>	<u>Percent of Total Items</u>
Favorable	1147	30.9
Unfavorable	1621	43.7
Balanced	535	14.9
Neutral	393	10.5

No trend identification is possible without statistics from earlier periods but if the results are grouped by six-month intervals it appears that magazine coverage of military affairs peaked in late 1969 with an almost steady decrease in favorable items, and a corresponding increase in unfavorable ones, throughout the 1968-1970 time period.

<u>Time Span</u>	<u>Number of Items*</u>	<u>Favorable (%)</u>	<u>Unfavorable (%)</u>
July-December 1968	566	37.2	35.3
January-June 1969	674	30.3	40.9
July-December 1969	961	27.6	45.0
January-June 1970	808	30.8	45.1
July-December 1970	647	26.0	49.5

\*Items from True were not included because of missing issues (see footnote 52).

Several other factors were incorporated into the examination of the composite results. The first of these was circulation. The circulations of the magazines varied from one to seventeen million. Therefore the influence or significance of an item was dependent to some extent upon the circulation of the particular magazine in which

it appeared. When the items were "weighted" by circulation (Number of items per magazine multiplied by the magazine circulation) to reflect their public exposure, the balance became slightly more unfavorable.<sup>3</sup>

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ITEM-COPIES (Billion)</u>	<u>PERCENT OF ITEM-COPIES</u>
Favorable	4.69	30.6
Unfavorable	6.91	45.1
Balanced	1.76	11.5
Neutral	1.96	12.8

The difference in the above table between the favorable and unfavorable categories is 14.5 percent and represents over 2.2 billion item-copies.

The second factor involved the inherent distinction between articles and excerpts. By definition the articles had greater magazine space than the excerpts and in addition they also had a more significant impact due to their format. The size definition which was used for articles caused most of the actual "articles", as indexed in the front of most magazines, to be included in this research unit category. The articles were often illustrated and individually authored. They are generally considered to be the more important portions of most magazines.

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<sup>3</sup>Circulation values were averaged from those contained in the 1970 and 1971 Ayer Directories. The 1971 Directory was published after the content analysis was completed. Circulation variance between the two editions was not significant (greatest change was a Reader's Digest increase of 243,613) and would not have affected the magazine selection. The 1971 circulation statistics are listed in Appendix E.

Without detailed measurement there was no way an exact weighted value could be attributed to the articles for their greater length. Since size alone was not the only distinguishing factor between articles and excerpts and since no values for the relative significance of various types of magazine coverage were available, e.g. letters to the editor vs. articles, or cartoons vs. articles, only representative subjective values were used. Two values were selected. Based on space alone the articles were conservatively estimated to be "worth" at least four excerpts. (44.5 percent of all the excerpts were letters to the editor.) Using this relative value to adjust the number of articles resulted in a slightly greater degree of balance, since there were a few more favorable than unfavorable articles.

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ADJUSTED ITEMS</u> <u>(excerpts + articles x 4)</u>	<u>PERCENT OF</u> <u>ADJUSTED ITEMS</u>
Favorable	2456	33.8
Unfavorable	2878	39.6
Balanced	1327	18.3
Neutral	605	8.3

When the relative weight of articles versus excerpts was given a value of 10 the balance became approximately even with only a 2.1 percent difference between the favorable and unfavorable categories.

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ADJUSTED ITEMS</u> <u>(<del>excerpts</del> + articles x 10)</u>	<u>PERCENT OF</u> <u>ADJUSTED ITEMS</u>
Favorable	5072	34.7
Unfavorable	5392	36.8
Balanced	3111	21.2
Neutral	1031	7.1

To reach an exact degree of balance required that articles be given a relative weight of 28.8.

The author of Magazines for Libraries rated popular magazines in two categories: reference value and judgement value (see Table 1). These subjective ratings were also used to weight the basic overall data to determine whether relative academic "prestige" of the individual magazines had any impact on the results. The following weighting values were used as multiple factors:

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>RATING (WEIGHTING VALUE)</u>
Reference Value	Low (1), Medium (2), High (3)
Judgement Value	Below Average (1), Average (2), Among Best (3), Best in Kind (4)

As an example, the items in Look were modified by a multiple weighting factor of 5; Reference Value--Medium (2) plus Judgement Value--Among Best (3). The results were not significantly different from the unadjusted values:

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ITEMS X COMBINED WEIGHTING VALUE</u>	<u>PERCENT OF ADJUSTED ITEMS</u>
Favorable	5672	30.5
Unfavorable	7913	44.0
Balanced	2754	15.4
Neutral	1813	10.1

The final adjusted view of the overall results was a calculation of the four category percentages without the Vietnam War subject area data. The percentages did not change significantly.

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ITEMS (excluding Vietnam War data)</u>	<u>PERCENT OF ITEMS</u>
Favorable	692	31.7
Unfavorable	966	44.3
Balanced	271	12.4
Neutral	254	11.6

The results of all the modifications of the composite results are included in the following table for ease of comparison:

<u>COMPOSITE ANALYSIS</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE OF ITEMS</u>			
	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Balanced</u>	<u>Neutral</u>
Unadjusted	30.9	43.7	14.9	10.5
Circulation Adjustment	30.6	45.1	11.5	12.8
Articles x4 Adjustment	33.8	39.6	18.3	8.3
Articles x10 Adjustment	34.7	36.8	21.2	7.1
Academic Value Adjustment	30.5	44.0	15.4	10.1
Vietnam War Adjustment	31.7	44.3	12.4	11.6



Combinations of weighting values could be used to cancel or accentuate the trends indicated in the table.

Once the analysis went beyond the composite totals a greater degree of polarity appeared. The following sections examined the results for each of the magazines, for the separate subject areas and several types of coverage (cartoons, letters and reviews).

#### GENERAL EDITORIAL MAGAZINES

##### Reader's Digest

"As a publishing phenomenon, The Reader's Digest compares favorably with the Holy Bible. Except for the Scriptures, nothing ever published has been circulated more widely than the Digest."<sup>4</sup> Like the Bible, Reader's Digest included within its broad coverage the area of military affairs and, at least in this area, verified its "well-known conservative editorial stance."<sup>5</sup> The Digest is rather unique as a national magazine since it has remained a family operation since the first issue of February 1922, which De Witt Wallace and his wife, Lila Boll, put together in a Greenwich Village basement.<sup>6</sup> Their conservative stance has often been criticized but it is difficult to argue with success.

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<sup>4</sup>John Bainbridge, Little Wonder (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1946), p. 1. These are the opening sentences of a book of 177 pages which criticizes all aspects of the Digest.

<sup>5</sup>Bill Katz, Magazines for Librarians (New York: R.R. Bowker & Co., 1969), p. 164

<sup>6</sup>John Tebbel, The American Magazine: A Compact History (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1969), p. 223.

"The power of a magazine whose circulation is well over 15,000,000 is obviously great."<sup>7</sup> "The pocket-sized Reader's Digest is the largest, the most widely read, and possibly the most influential magazine in the world."<sup>8</sup>

Table 4 shows that a large proportion (76 percent) of all items were in the favorable category. The ratio of favorable/unfavorable items in the Vietnam War area (1/0.4) was especially significant. This result was in agreement with the following description concerning the Digest's opinion. "The reader is left in no doubt where the magazine stands on an issue. What it dislikes it hates; what it approves it loves."<sup>9</sup>

As noted in Chapter I, it has been criticized in the past for not being a true digest. Since now, "...a good three quarters of its articles are being staff written or on commission",<sup>10</sup> it presumably no longer has as much indirect influence on the content of other magazines.

### Life

One November day in 1936, after months of experimentation and promotion, Henry Luce's Life at last turned up at the newsstands, and the modern picture magazine was born. For their dimes, purchasers of that initial issue got ninety-six large pages full of photographs--the first, of an obstetrician slapping a baby to consciousness, captioned, "Life Begins."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 226.

<sup>8</sup>James P. Wood, Of Lasting Interest (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1967), p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 268

<sup>10</sup>Katz, loc. cit.

<sup>11</sup>Theodore Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century (2d ed.; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), p. 345.

Table 4  
Content Analysis Data for Reader's Digest

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
Military History	1/			
Militarism			1/	
All-Volunteer Army	1/			
Arms Race	15/	2/		
Draft	/2	2/		
Ecology		1/		
Foreign Policy	1/	2/	1/	
Influence				
Military Assistance	1/			
Military Budget	1/1			
Military-Industrial Complex	/1			
Public Information		1/		
ROTC	1/			
Strategic Intelligence	2/			
Vietnam War	21/2	1/	2/	3/
POW	3/			
Personnel				
Career	1/1			
Leadership	5/			
Medical	1/			
Incidents				
<u>Pushio</u>		2/1		
Total	54/7	11/1	4/	3/

"In addition to representing a new relationship between pictures and text Life had the highest professional standards of photography a magazine had ever offered."<sup>12</sup> Since its initial issue it has had considerable competition but it is now the "best known picture weekly in the world."<sup>13</sup> Because "Television and other magazines have moved into the field of photojournalism...",<sup>14</sup> Life has had to change in order to retain a unique identity. A recent innovation was the addition of "the spooks", a special News Projects department that specializes in exposes.<sup>15</sup> This new element in Life's composition was reflected in its coverage of the My Lai incident.

Although Life's primary focus was on entertainment it still contained a considerable number of military affairs items (320, see table 5). Only 20 percent were favorable, against 49 percent unfavorable, a 1/2.5 favorable/unfavorable ratio. Even with the Vietnam War items excluded this ratio remained about the same. In military affairs, during this period at least, Life had apparently strayed from its "middle-of-the-road-to-conservative"<sup>16</sup> position.

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<sup>12</sup>Tebbel, op. cit., pp. 231-232.

<sup>13</sup>Katz, Magazines for Libraries, op. cit., p. 162.

<sup>14</sup>Press, "Coming to Life," Newsweek, LXXIII, 20 (May 19, 1969), 65.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Katz, op. cit. "On its editorial page, Life propagated the conservative and sometimes idiosyncratic views of its publisher, but readers paid little attention to this page; it was lost in a wealth of illustration". Tebbel, op. cit., p. 232.

Table 5

Content Analysis Data for Life

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		3/3		2/2
Military History	/1	1/3		1/
Militarism		1/2	1/	/3
Arms Race	1/	4/4	1/1	1/1
CB Warfare	/1	1/2	1/	
Civic Action	2/			
Draft	/4	1/6		1/1
Military-Academic Complex				1/1
Military-Congressional Complex	/1	1/2		/1
Military-Industrial Complex	/1	1/3		/2
ROTC	/2			/2
Vietnam War	4/24	17/47	5/2	4/23
POW	1/			
Personnel				
Career	1/	/2		
Dissent	1/1	2/5		
Drugs	/1			
Leadership	5/3	/5		
Military Justice	/2	2/7		
Race Relations	/1	1/5		
Incidents		1/		
Pueblo	/1	1/5		2/3
Green Berets	/1	1/4		1/1
My Lai	/3	2/8		/36
Kent State	/1	2/1		/1
Total	15/48	42/114	8/3	13/77

### Look

As Newsweek rose to challenge Time successfully, after a long search to find its own formula, so Look went through the same process to establish itself against Life. There were at least fifteen imitations of Life in the wake of its successful launching, but only Look survived to become formidable competition.<sup>17</sup>

"Emphasizing more editorial matter than photographs, Look is a mature, somewhat more sophisticated approach to the same world covered by Life....The editorial policy is liberal...."<sup>18</sup> However, Look appears to be slightly more favorably disposed toward military affairs than Life, with 30 percent favorable and 54 percent unfavorable, (see Table 6). This is approximately a 1/2 favorable/unfavorable ratio.

### Redbook

...Redbook, had been edited for many years by Edwin Balmer, and had successfully reached, as Balmer himself once put it, "the little old ladies in Kokomo." ...Balmer was replaced by Wade Nichols, a young fireball, who turned the magazine around and aimed it at young marrieds, or "The Magazine for Young Adults," as the official subtitle put it in 1951. Redbook, under this new banner, attacked social problems and exposed controversial issues until it had won itself an audience of two million.<sup>19</sup>

Its content was at least half fiction. Redbook was the first magazine to revive the "...nineteenth-century idea of a complete novel in an issue."<sup>20</sup> Although listed as a general editorial magazine it is specifically aimed at young mothers.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Tebbel, op. cit., p. 233.

<sup>18</sup>Katz, op. cit., p. 162.

<sup>19</sup>Tebbel, op. cit., pp. 210-211.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 162.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 250.

Table 6  
Content Analysis Data for Look

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War	/3	3/3		/9
Military History	1/	1/		2/
Militarism	/6	4/15		
Arms Race		3/2	/2	/1
CB Warfare		1/		
Draft	/9	4/12		/2
Foreign Policy	2/1			/1
Influence				
Military-Academic Complex	/2	2/1		
Military Academies	/2	1/2		
Military Budget		1/		
Military-Industrial Complex		3/2	1/	/3
Reserve Forces/ National Guard	/2	1/1		
Vietnam War	6/15	18/39		1/19
POW	6/11	1/2		
Personnel				
Dissent		2/		
Drugs	/1	1/1		
Education/Training	1/2	/1		
Leadership	1/1			
Race Relations		/1		
Incidents				
My Lai		1/1		
Total	17/55	47/83	1/2	3/35

Probably this aim was reflected in its large percentage of unfavorable items (80 percent, see Table 7). The three favorable items were all letters from readers.

Table 7

Content Analysis Data for Redbook

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		/1		
Military History		1/		
Militarism		1/		
Vietnam War	/1	2/1		
Personnel				
Career		1/4		
Military Justice	/2	1/		
Total	/3	6/6		

Time

Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report, comprise a significant segment of the fourth estate. "The void left by the absence of a national newspaper appears to be partially filled by the newsmagazines."<sup>22</sup> Time was the original of the trio. It was considered "...the first thing really new in journalism in several generations."

<sup>22</sup>The Press, "Judging the Fourth Estate: A Time-Louis Harris Poll," Time, XCIV, 10 (September 5, 1969), 39.



It devised an entirely new approach and writing style and has been a stunning success."<sup>23</sup> It is one magazine that was generally conceded to have a considerable influence on public opinion.

The boast of Bureau Chief John Steele that Washington Officials "read the hell out of Time" is quite true-even among those who dislike it....President Kennedy considered Time the most important magazine in America; it reaches the kind of people a political leader must influence.<sup>24</sup>

And this influence is not limited to the United States.

Luce regarded a Time correspondent in the foreign country to which he was posted as the American second only to the U.S. Ambassador. In return for this presumption, thousands of readers abroad accept the magazine as a quasi-official spokesman for the United States government, a polished, flawless window on America.<sup>25</sup>

Its reliability, however, was not rated by everyone as high as its influence (see footnote 14, Chapter II). A Former Time publisher was quoted as saying, "The way to tell a successful lie is to include enough truth in it to make it believable-and Time is the most successful liar of our time".<sup>26</sup> This lends support for the first part of the following opinion that Time:

...has gained a reputation for biased news..., a decided

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<sup>23</sup>Earl J. Johnson, "The Realities of World News Editing," The Press and the Public Interest, ed. Warren K. Agee (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1968), p. 193.

<sup>24</sup>William L. Rivers, The Opinion Makers (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), p. 14.

<sup>25</sup>Richard Pollak, "Time: After Luce," Harper's, CCXXXIX, 1430 (July 1969), 43.

<sup>26</sup>Rivers, op. cit., p. 111.

conservative viewpoint, and a style which is clever, yet inevitably tiresome when the reader seeks fact rather than a good story.<sup>27</sup>

The content analysis results in Table 8 do not support the contention that Time has a conservative viewpoint, at least in military affairs. This probably reflects a trend toward liberalisation under the new editorship of Hedley Donovan and Anatole Grunwald.<sup>28</sup>

The Vietnam results certainly indicate a change from an earlier view, that week after week, Time "...read like a glossy handout from the public relations firm of Johnson, Rusk and Westmoreland."<sup>29</sup>

#### Newsweek

Newsweek was begun in 1933 by the foreign-news editor of Time, Thomas J.C. Martyn, and supported through some early difficulties by Vincent Astor. Its present style was adopted following a recent sale to the Washington Post.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Katz, Magazines for Libraries, op. cit., p. 166. Two other views in agreement: "Time, of course, has never intended to provide a straight factual account. In his original prospectus for Time, Luce wrote that 'Time gives both sides, but clearly indicates which side it believes to have the stronger position.'" Chris Welles, "Newsweek (a Fact) Is the New Hot Book (an Opinion)," Esquire, LXXII, 3 (November, 1969), 154; and "Today it is safe to say that the intellectual community does not believe much of what it reads in Time. That is a small matter to the magazine, since it is not addressed to intellectuals but to an affluent audience (attractive to advertisers) that wants what Henry Luce knew from the beginning it wanted--a painless way to get the news." Tebbel, The American Magazine, op. cit., p. 229.

<sup>28</sup>This change in editorial policy was noted by both Richard Pollak in "Time: After Luce," op. cit., pp. 42-52, and, more recently, John Chamberlin in "Henry Luce and the Russian Century," National Review, XXIII, 19 (May 18, 1971), 524-525 & 550.

<sup>29</sup>Pollak, loc. cit.

<sup>30</sup>Tebbel, loc. cit.

Table 8

Content Analysis Data for Time.

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War	1/1	1/12	/2	1/5
Military History	1/8	1/5	/1	/1
Militarism	1/3	1/6	1/	/3
All-Volunteer Army	1/0	/3	/1	
Arms Race	1/4	2/9	9/14	1/5
C B Warfare	/1	1/6	1/	
Civic Action	/1	/1	/1	
Civilian Spying		/1		
Draft	/4	2/10	/4	1/6
Ecology		1/3		
Foreign Policy	1/4	/1	2/4	2/2
Influence				
Military-Academic Complex		/4	1/1	
Military Academies	/2			
Military Assistance	/2			
Military Budget	/2	/3		/1
Military-Congressional Complex		/1		
Military Economy				1/
Military-Industrial Complex	2/3	4/8	1/4	/2
Public Information		1/4	/1	
Reserve Forces/National Guard	/1	/1	/1	
ROTC	/3	1/8	/1	
Strategic Intelligence	1/1	/1		
Vietnam War	18/67	19/93	40/42	4/15
POW	/5	1/3	2/1	1/
Personnel				
Career	/3	1/6		/1
Dissent	/1	/1	/1	
Education/Training	/3		/1	

Table 8 (continued)

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
Leadership	5/15	1/5	1/	/7
Medical		/1		
Military Justice		/4	3/1	
Race Relations		/2	1/	
Incidents	/2	/6	1/1	2/4
<u>Pueblo</u>	/2	4/6	1/4	/2
Green Berets		3/2		/1
My Lai	/5	7/23	2/8	1/7
Kent State	/10	1/7	1/2	/3
Total	32/155	52/246	67/96	14/65

In format and approach it is somewhat similar to Time, yet considerably more objective, better-written and certainly more middle-of-the-road to liberal in its approach to domestic and international affairs.<sup>31</sup>

A favorable view of the magazine claims that:

Over the past few years, Newsweek has often been superior to Time in assessing the meaning, significance and implication of the news-one of the principal raison d'etres of the newsmagazine--and in recognizing many of the major trends of the 1960's...<sup>32</sup>

It has considerable influence on the youth audience since it is "... one of the most widely read magazines for students of all ages."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Katz, op. cit., pp. 163-164.

<sup>32</sup>Welles, op. cit., p. 154. Perhaps this is Esquire's response to the favorable coverage it received from Newsweek (see footnote 56).

<sup>33</sup>Marion H. Scott (ed.), Periodicals for School Libraries (Chicago: American Library Association, 1969), p. 141.

The results (see Table 9) show that Newsweek had a more unfavorable military affairs position than Time (49 percent unfavorable versus 41 percent for Time). A comparison of the Vietnam War data for the two magazines shows an even greater disparity.

#### U.S. News & World Report

...[US News & World Report] has made a successful place for itself in the newsmagazine field by carefully avoiding any physical resemblance to its rivals concentrating on its special field of forecasting and analysis, and appealing directly to the conservative audience that follows [David] Lawrence's column.<sup>34</sup>

"Unlike the other news magazines with departments of music, theater, press, and so on, the U.S. News and World Report kept its eye fixed only on national and international affairs."<sup>35</sup> This fact probably accounted for its large number of military affairs items (see Table 10).

It is generally considered a "conservative magazine"<sup>36</sup> and in the area of military affairs it bore this out with better than a 3/1 ratio of favorable/unfavorable items.

#### Popular Science Monthly and Popular Mechanics

Popular Science and Popular Mechanics are the only two technically oriented general editorial magazines. Popular Science was the forerunner, beginning in 1872 as a "serious scientific

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<sup>34</sup>Tebbel, The American Magazine, op. cit., p. 230.

<sup>35</sup>Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>36</sup>Katz, Magazines For Libraries, op. cit., p. 167.

Table 9

Content Analysis Data for Newsweek

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		1/4		1/1
Military History	1/5	/5	1/4	/1
Militarism	1/2	1/1	2/	
All-Volunteer Army	2/3			
Arms Race	7/8	5/20	16/17	1/2
CB Warfare	/3	/3	2/	
Civic Action	/1	/1	1/1	
Civil Defense			/1	
Civilian Spying		/3		
Draft	1/6	8/9	9/1	1/4
Ecology		/1		
Foreign Policy	/2	1/6	3/3	
Influence				
Military-Academic Complex	/1	1/5	/1	1/
Military Budget	/5	/2	/2	/1
Military Economy	/1	/1		
Military-Industrial Complex	/10	2/10	2/5	1/
Military-Local Community Complex			2/	
Public Information		/5	/1	
Reserve Forces/ National Guard			/1	
ROTC	/1	/5		
Strategic Intelligence	2/1		/1	/1
Vietnam War	17/58	63/194	66/48	8/35
POW	/5	/5	4/6	
Personnel				
Career	/5	1/2	/1	
Dissent	1/1	3/4		
Drugs	/1	/1	/1	
Leadership	2/18	/5	1/	/4

Table 9 (continued)

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Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
Medical		/1		
Military Justice	/3	/9	2/2	/1
Race Relations		1/2	/2	
Incidents	/2	3/8	/2	/4
<u>Pueblo</u>	2/3	3/21	/2	/2
Green Berets	/3	2/6	/3	/2
My Lai	/6	4/24	3/2	/2
Kent State	/9	2/12	/4	/2
Total	36/163	101/375	114/110	13/62

Table 10

Content Analysis Data for U.S. News & World Report

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War			1/	
Military History		1/	1/	
Militarism	4/			1/
All-Volunteer Army		2/1	1/	
Arms Race	63/23	4/1	16/7	1/4
CB Warfare	1/1		1/	
Civic Action	/2			
Draft	12/16	/5	3/4	8/5
Foreign Policy	5/5	3/3	4/1	
Influence				
Military-Academic Complex	/1	/1	1/	/1
Military Academies	2/			
Military Assistance	1/			
Military Budget	9/5	3/	2/3	
Military Economy	1/	1/		
Military-Industrial Complex	5/6	2/2	1/3	

Table 10 (continued)

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
Reserve Forces/ National Guard	1/	1/		
ROTC	2/	/1	1/1	
Strategic Intelligence	2/	/1		
Vietnam War	97/52	38/16	39/23	9/7
POW	3/2		/2	/1
Personnel				
Career	2/20		1/	
Dissent		1/	1/	
Drugs		2/	1/	
Leadership	5/			
Race Relations	/2		1/	
Incidents	2/	1/5	/2	
<u>Pueblo</u>	1/2	5/2	2/	/1
Green Berets	1/			
My Lai	/1	4/2	2/	1/
Kent State	1/1	1/1	2/1	1/
Total	220/139	69/41	81/47	21/19

journal,"<sup>37</sup> while Popular Mechanics followed into this same market in 1902 with a total of only five subscribers.<sup>38</sup> It became part of the Hearst publishing empire in 1962.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup>James L. Ford, Magazines for Millions (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), p. 42. The magazine reflected the chief interest of its founder, Edward L. Youmans, who wanted to popularize science. Tebbel, op. cit., p. 126. Some of the early contributors were Darwin, Huxley, Pasteur, William James, Edison, John Dewey. Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, op. cit., p. 372.

<sup>38</sup>Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, op. cit., p. 221.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 222.



Although listed as general editorial magazines the audience for both is primarily male.<sup>40</sup> Their military affairs coverage was limited (60 items, see Tables 11 and 12) and was contained mostly in short "news" reports concerning military equipment or research.

The content of both of these magazines was overwhelmingly favorable (Popular Science 85 percent, Popular Mechanics 95 percent) with only four unfavorable items. One of these, a letter criticizing the Navy's Deep Submergence Rescue Vehicle, was even sharply refuted by the Popular Science editors.<sup>41</sup>

### Ebony

John H. Johnson, the publisher of Ebony, also publishes Black World,<sup>42</sup> Tan and Jet. Ebony, "a black Life,"<sup>43</sup> is the most successful of the four and only the militant Black World has been a steady "money-loser."<sup>44</sup>

The Johnson publications are straightforwardly of, by and for Negroes. News of the world is almost exclusively colored black.

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<sup>40</sup>For example, Popular Mechanics claims that 85 percent of its readers are men. Ford, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>41</sup>PS Readers Talk Back, "How Useful is the DSRV?", CXCIV, 6 (December 1969), 6.

<sup>42</sup>Originally titled Negro Digest.

<sup>43</sup>Ford, op. cit., p. 251.

<sup>44</sup>The Press, "Magazines--Color Success Black," Time, XCII, 5 (August 2, 1968), 32. Negro Digest loses \$80-100 thousand annually. Also, The Press, "Digest of Rage," Time, XCVI, 12 (September 21, 1970), 89.

Table 11

Content Analysis Data for Popular Science Monthly

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
Militarism				
Arms Race		1/1		/1
Ecology	/1			
Military Academies	/1			
Military Assistance	/1			
Military-Industrial Complex	9/20	/1	/1	/1
Personnel				
Medical	/1			
Incidents	1/			
Total	10/24	1/2	/1	/2

Table 12

Content Analysis Data for Popular Mechanics

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
Military History	1/			
Militarism				
Military-Industrial Complex	5/10			
Vietnam War	1/	/1		
Personnel				
Drugs	/1			
Leadership	/1			
Total	7/12	/1		

To some militants, including some members of the staff, Ebony is too smugly middle-class.<sup>45</sup>

This perhaps explains its balanced overall content.

In August 1968 a special issue was devoted to military affairs. This issue's 33 items and the numerous letters which it drew in response added to an already substantial military affairs content (see Table 13). Emphasis was on race relations (60 items) with career running second (26 items). Overall balance was maintained with Race Relations (unfavorable) offset by Career (favorable).

### Cosmopolitan

"Without the nudes Cosmopolitan is often referred to as the women's Playboy."<sup>46</sup> But its military affairs coverage was much less than that of its male counterpart and comparison with Playboy's more famous uncoverage is not pertinent.

Cosmopolitan included only five military affairs items (see Table 14). All were excerpts, and all were either book or movie reviews. Even though none of the items were favorable, no conclusion was drawn from such a small, select amount of material, other than the fact that military affairs was an insignificant part of Cosmopolitan's editorial make-up. This was in considerable contrast to an earlier period (1888-1905) in the magazine's history.

His own short military career as a youth doubtless led [editor John B.] Walker to a lifelong interest in war, and

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<sup>45</sup>The Press, "Magazines--Color Success Black," loc. cit.

<sup>46</sup>Katz, Magazines for Libraries, op. cit., p. 340.

Table 13  
Content Analysis Data for Ebony

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War				1/
Military History	2/3	1/		
Militarism				
All-Volunteer Army		1/		
Draft	/1	4/		
Vietnam War	5/1	/3		
POW	1/1			
Personnel				
Career	9/10	2/2	1/1	/1
Leadership	3/			
Race Relations	6/13	7/25	1/	/8
Incidents				
Kent State		/1		
Total	26/29	15/31	2/1	1/9

Table 14  
Content Analysis Data for Cosmopolitan

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		/2		
Militarism				
Public Information		/1		
Vietnam War				/1
Personnel				
Leadership			/1	
Total		/3	/1	/1

there were many articles in the Cosmopolitan on military and naval developments at home and abroad, especially with reference to the organization and equipment of the armies and navies of foreign nations....When the [Spanish-American] war became a reality, the Cosmopolitan covered it with some brilliance...<sup>47</sup>

#### MEN'S MAGAZINES

The coverage of military affairs by the men's magazines, with the exception of Argosy, was greater than that of the women's publications and was generally more unfavorable. Proportionately, women's publications gave greater emphasis to the Vietnam War and men's magazines to the Personnel areas and Incidents.

#### Playboy

Although Playboy was, "Subtitled Entertainment for Men, yet it is probably read by almost one-third as many women...and is favored among teen-age boys."<sup>48</sup> Just as Esquire has changed its image, Playboy "...has astutely broadened its scope well beyond its former centerfold to encompass a good many other aspects of society."<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Frank L. Mott, A History of American Magazines 1885-1905, IV (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 485.

<sup>48</sup>Katz, Magazines for Libraries, op. cit., pp. 251-252. In an earlier assessment "Playboy estimates that half [of its readers] have attended college. 70 percent are between the ages of 18 and 34. Women make up about 25 percent of its audience..." The Press, "Magazines" Time, LXXXIX, 9 (March 3, 1967), 80.

<sup>49</sup>Tebbel, The American Magazine, op. cit., p. 264. Another view of how it has changed is offered by Time. "...in many ways Playboy has become a bore--it seems more and more a triumph of distinctive packaging around a predictable product..." Modern Living, "Hugh Hefner Faces Middle Age," XCIII, 7 (February 14, 1969), 70.

Table 15  
Content Analysis Data for Playboy

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Extracts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		1/11		/3
Military History		/5		
Militarism	/2	4/6		/8
All-Volunteer Army		/2		
Arms Race	1/	1/6		
Civilian Spying		/1		
Draft	/4	3/27		/10
Ecology	/2	1/5		
Foreign Policy		/2		
Influence				
Military-Academic Complex		/3		
Military-Industrial Complex		1/2		
Public Information		1/1		
Reserve Forces/ National Guard	/1	/1		/2
ROTC	/1		/1	
Vietnam War	1/11	6/41		/3
Personnel				
Career		/3		
Dissent	/3	/37		/1
Drugs	/2	/8		
Leadership	/1	/1		
Military Justice	/5	1/26	/1	
Race Relations		/1		
Incidents		/1		/1
<u>Pueblo</u>	/1			
My Lai	/1	1/11		
Kent State	/1	/1		
Total	2/35	20/202	/2	/28

Apart from the nudes, Playboy offers fiction, reportage and interviews, reasonably amusing and bawdy cartoons, some dirty jokes, and discussions by sociologists and theologians.<sup>50</sup>

It included a fairly large number of military affairs items (289, see Table 15). Playboy contained two "Letters to the Editor" type sections and their contents represented a large proportion of the items. One section in particular appeared to serve as a forum for disgruntled enlisted men. The editors or authors occasionally provided rebuttals to letters with which they disagreed. Overall coverage was strongly unfavorable (77 percent).

#### True

"The first slick ['true adventure magazine for men'] seems to have been True" and it was also the first "...man's magazine to achieve a circulation of more than a million."<sup>51</sup>

Its military affairs coverage was substantial (61 items, see Table 16) with a 1/1 ratio of favorable/unfavorable items.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>The Press, "Magazines", op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>51</sup>Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, op. cit., pp. 311-312.

<sup>52</sup>This is especially large considering True's military affairs coverage is even more substantial than the 61 items listed. Twelve copies of True for the July 1968-December 1970 time period are not included in the analysis since they were unavailable. These were 1968-July, October, and December; 1969-June, July, October and November and 1970-February, March, April, and June. True is not included in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, which is the reason why most libraries do not include it in their periodical files. The pin-up type pictures it contains probably are the reason why the above listed copies were missing from the one local library that did attempt to maintain the back issues in its files.

Table 16  
Content Analysis Data for True

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Extracts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		/2		1/3
Military History	/3		1/	/2
Militarism		/2		
Arms Race		1/		/1
Draft	/5	/2		/3
Ecology		/1		
Military Academies	/1			
Military-Industrial Complex	2/			
ROTC	/1			/1
Vietnam War	2/2	/3		/3
Personnel				
Career	/1	/1		
Dissent		/1		
Drugs		1/		
Education/Training	1/			
Leadership	1/	/1		
Medical	/1			
Military Justice		/1		
Race Relations	1/			
Incidents		/2	1/	/3
<u>Pueblo</u>		/1		
Green Berets		/2		
Total	7/14	2/19	2/	1/16



### Argosy

Anyone reading Argosy today may find it difficult to believe that it started out in 1882 as the Golden Argosy, Freighted with Treasures for Boys and Girls. There were many changes over the years, culminating in its post World War II revival as Argosy-the Complete Men's Magazine.<sup>53</sup>

Argosy's non-fictional military affairs content was minimal (8 items, see Table 17). Those few items it did include were predominantly favorable (62 percent) and probably represent its "rather conservative"<sup>54</sup> editorial policy. A number of fiction stories dealt with military themes and it was probably these stories that influenced two letters to the editor, commending the magazine for its favorable portrayal of the military.<sup>55</sup>

### Esquire

Considered to be the Playboy of the 1940's, Esquire has been variously described as "...brash, impious, mischievous, outrageous, scatterbrained, uneven, immodest, naughty and adolescent."<sup>56</sup> In the early 1950's it "...abandoned its youthful preoccupation with sex..."

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<sup>53</sup>Tebbel, The American Magazine, op. cit., pp. 168-170.

<sup>54</sup>Katz, Magazines for Libraries, op. cit., p. 250.

<sup>55</sup>Back Talk, "Thanks Argosy," CCCLXX, 3 (May 1970), 20, and "Keep it Objective," CCCLXXI, 1 (July 1970), 10. The second letter summed up: "Please keep Argosy objective and thousands of demoralized servicemen will thank you as I do."

<sup>56</sup>Press, "35 Going on 18," Newsweek, LXXII, 13 (September 23, 1968), 90. Article describes Esquire as "...one of the brightest and most imaginative forces in journalism."

Table 17

Content Analysis Data for Argosy

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
Military History	1/			
Militarism				
CS Warfare		/1	1/	
Civic Action	1/1			
Vietnam War	/1			
Personnel				
Drugs		/1		
Leadership	/1			
Total	2/3	/2	1/	

and adopted a new seriousness of purpose."<sup>57</sup> Magazines for Libraries rated it as "...the best 'man's magazine' now available, and in many ways a leading contender for front place among literary and politically oriented periodicals...."<sup>58</sup>

Its military affairs content was less t in Playboy's but much greater than that of the other two men's magazines (80 items, see Table 18). This content, however, had a decidedly unfavorable bias (84 percent). Perhaps this bias was exemplified by Esquire's "Annual Dubious Achievement Awards" which often involve various aspects of military affairs.

<sup>57</sup>Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, op. cit., p. 276.

<sup>58</sup>Katz, op. cit., p. 231.

Table 18

Content Analysis Data for Esquire

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War	/1	2/4		
Militarism		4/2		
All-Volunteer Army	/1			
Arms Race	/1	2/6		/1
Civic Action		1/		
Civil Defense		1/		
Draft		3/6		
Ecology			/1	
Foreign Policy		/1		
Influence				
Military-Academic		1/		
Complex				
Military-Congressional		1/		
Complex				
Military-Industrial		1/		
Complex				
Public Information		/1		
Vietnam War	1/1	11/9		/1
Personnel				
Dissent		1/3		
Leadership	1/	1/1		
Race Relations		1/		
Incidents	/2	2/1		/1
Pueblo	1/			
My Lai		1/		
Total	3/6	33/34	/1	/3

## WOMEN'S PUBLICATIONS

To the uninitiated, a woman's magazine may seem merely a powdery bit of fluff. No notion could be more unreal or deceptive. That is just the style in which the magazines express themselves, for if the top layer seems fluffy, the underlying base is solid and powerful. These publications involve a giant business investment, and have an overwhelming influence on American life.<sup>59</sup>

That, at least, was one woman's opinion.

### McCall's Magazine

McCall's Magazine was founded by James McCall in order to promote his dressmaking pattern business. In 1873 it was titled The Queen: Illustrating McCall's Bazaar Glove Fitting Patterns.<sup>60</sup> It is now perhaps best known for its 1956 "togetherness" promotion campaign.

The primary focus of McCall's is on fashion and home entertaining. However, it does include articles on national affairs.

For instance, in 1940, the magazine started a "National Defense" section. It was supposed to do its share in the Second World War. There was a Bureau in Washington to send in hot news. It didn't really accomplish anything, except perhaps provide an air of patriotic endeavor.<sup>61</sup>

And in 1968 it paid one million dollars for Robert Kennedy's personal recollections of the Cuban missile crisis, "Thirteen Days,"<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Helen Woodward, The Lady Persuaders (New York: Ivan Obolensky, 1960), pp. 1-2.

<sup>60</sup>Tebbel, The American Magazine, op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>61</sup>Woodward, op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>62</sup>The Press, "Memoirs: Bobby's View, Time, XCII, 17 (October 25, 1968), 70.

in which he criticized U.S. military leadership:

But he [President Kennedy] was disturbed that the [military] representatives with whom he met, with the notable exception of General Taylor, seemed to give so little consideration to the implications of steps they suggested.<sup>63</sup>

In a brief review of McCall's recently changed outlook a military affairs article was singled out as an example, "At present it [McCall's] includes serious articles such as 'The Girls They Leave Behind in Saigon'.<sup>64</sup> When the current editor, Shana Alexander, was asked to take the job in 1969 she expressed the following opinion:

...the trouble with women's magazines is that they have been underestimating women all these years, and I wasn't even sure I believed in the idea of a women's magazine. I said I thought there should just be good magazines, period. Maybe I'm kind of a latter-day feminist, but I think that women can take much more grown-up material.<sup>65</sup>

This, however, is not reflected in McCall's military affairs content. It contained only 23 items with an unfavorable majority (65 percent, see Table 19). Of the seven favorable items, six were letters from readers.

#### Ladies' Home Journal

The Ladies' Home Journal along with the now defunct Saturday Evening Post were the two main pillars of the Curtis publishing empire.

<sup>63</sup>Robert F. Kennedy, "Thirteen Days: The Story About How the World Almost Ended," McCall's, XCVI, 2 (November 1968), 172.

<sup>64</sup>Scott, Periodicals for School Libraries, op. cit., p. 114.

<sup>65</sup>The Press, "The Feminine Eye," Time, XCIII, 17 (April 25, 1969), 78. When Norman Cousins lost the editor's job in 1968 one of the reasons cited was a "...recent survey [which] indicated that women really wanted a 'service' magazine with emphasis on home decorating, food, fashion, cosmetics and travel." Press, "Exhilarating Experiences," Newsweek, LXXII, 18 (October 28, 1968), 106.

Table 19  
Content Analysis Data for McCall's Magazine

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		/1		
Militarism				
Arms Race		1/		
Draft	/5	3/2		
Vietnam War	/1	4/3		
Personnel				
Career	/1			
Leadership		/1		
Incidents				
<u>Pueblo</u>			1/	
Total	/7	8/7	1/	

Table 20  
Content Analysis Data for Ladies' Home Journal

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
Military History		/1		
Militarism				/2
Arms Race				/1
Draft		/2		
Vietnam War		/1	/1	
POW	/1			
Personnel				
Leadership			/2	
Incidents				
<u>Pueblo</u>			1/	
Kent State				/1
Total	/1	/4	1/3	/4

It began in 1879 as a monthly supplement to the Tribune and Farmer newspaper. By the turn of the century it was the most popular magazine in America, being the first to attain a one million circulation. Although the title alone makes it difficult to believe, at the end of World War I the Journal ranked third among those magazines most demanded by soldiers.<sup>66</sup> That such popularity did not prevail is indicated by the sale of the Journal in 1968 to the Downe Publishing Company.<sup>67</sup> It was no longer considered, "the magazine women believe in."<sup>68</sup> In 1970 the Journal's offices were invaded by a conglomerate of women's liberation organizations because:

The Ladies' Home Journal creates frustrations which lead to depression and anger because women cannot live up to what the magazine tells them they should. The attitudes of the Journal are abhorrent and degrading to women.<sup>69</sup>

However a recent description claims that:

The women of America have changed, and the Ladies' Home Journal has changed with them. In addition to the familiar columns on the home, receipes, medicine, child care and the budget, there are now challenging and informative articles on current social problems....<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Mott, A History of American Magazines, op. cit., pp. 546 & 550. Chapter 14, pp. 536-555, presents a complete historical sketch of the magazine.

<sup>67</sup>Press, "Good-bye-Ladies," Newsweek, LXXII, 9 (August 26, 1968), 80-81.

<sup>68</sup>The Press, "Magazines," Time, XCII, 8 (August 23, 1968), 55.

<sup>69</sup>The Media, "Women Power," Newsweek, LXXV, 13 (March 30, 1970), 61.

<sup>70</sup>Scott, Periodicals for School Libraries, op. cit., p. 110.

Nevertheless, the Journal's military affairs content was quite small (13 items, see Table 20) with no particular bias. Only one of the items was an article and it was categorized as balanced. This result becomes significant only when contrasted with the Journal's editorial position during World War I:

With the coming of the war in 1917, Curtis and Bok [the editor] placed all the resources of the magazine at the command of the government. Upon the advice of President Wilson, Bok resolved to do little in the way of portraying the progress of the war at the front, but to support the "second line of defense" at home. In the first war number, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, explained to mothers why they should allow their sons to enlist.<sup>71</sup>

The Ladies' Home Journal certainly has changed.

#### Good Housekeeping

Good Housekeeping is another magazine in the vast Hearst publishing empire. Unlike many of the specialized Hearst publications it aimed at mass appeal.<sup>72</sup> It concentrated on;

...family life and children, medical matters, cookery and foods, fashions and beauty hints, house building and landscaping, furnishings and decorations, appliances, budgeting and diet.<sup>73</sup>

Such concentration left very little room for military affairs.

Although the military did not receive the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval the overall coverage was almost evenly balanced (favorable 47 percent, unfavorable 42 percent, see Table 21).

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<sup>71</sup>Mott, op. cit., 549.

<sup>72</sup>Ford, Magazines for Millions, op. cit., p. 251.

<sup>73</sup>Mott, A History of American Magazines, V, op. cit., p. 143. A complete historical sketch is presented in Chapter 10, pp. 125-143.



Table 21

Content Analysis Data for Good Housekeeping

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
Militarism				
All-Volunteer Army	/1			
Civic Action	1/			
Draft	/3	2/3	1/	
Vietnam War	1/1	/2	/1	
POW	1/			
Personnel				
Leadership	/1			
Incidents				
Kent State		1/		
Total	3/6	3/5	1/1	

Table 22

Content Analysis Data for Parent's Magazine and Better Family Living

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		/2		
Military History			/1	
Militarism				
Arms Race		1/		
Draft		/1		
Vietnam War		1/2		
Personnel				
Leadership			/1	
Total		2/5	/2	

### Parent's Magazine and Better Family Living

Parent's Magazine and Better Family Living was founded in 1926 by George H. Hecht to fill a gap. "There are magazines devoted exclusively to the raising of cattle, hogs, dogs, flowers, and what not, but until now none on the most important work of the world-the raising of children."<sup>74</sup>

Although the title seemed to indicate mixed audience it claimed "...the highest percentage of women readers in the 18-34 age group among all women's shelter, store, general monthly and weekly magazines."<sup>75</sup>

Parent's Magazine had only a minimal military affairs content (9 items, see Table 22) and that small amount was almost 100 percent unfavorable. Since the military was associated by many with war, violence and destruction such a bias was not surprising in a magazine devoted to raising children.

### Glamour

"The editorial copy in Vogue and Glamour...was hard to find amid the advertisements; but then women probably bought them as much for their advertisements as for their editorial features."<sup>76</sup> Such was a typical view of fashion magazines.

It was somewhat surprising that a magazine titled Glamour

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<sup>74</sup>Ford, op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid, p. 30.

<sup>76</sup>Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, op. cit., pp. 268-269.

would contain any military affairs content at all. What was even more surprising was the fact that a large proportion of these few military affairs items that it did contain were almost all unfavorable (see Table 23). The single favorable item was a letter in the "Readers' Opinions" column. Such a result was in complete disagreement with the view that, "There is little or no controversial material in Glamour and the editors appear to fear a definite stand on anything this side of fashion."<sup>77</sup> Perhaps it reflected the fact that Glamour "... is aimed at a college and career age level."<sup>78</sup>

#### YOUTH MAGAZINES

Seventeen is the only privately published youth magazine with over a million circulation. The importance of youth magazines, in general, and Seventeen in particular, was best described by its own advertisement:

The Country is Growing Younger...Half the Population of the United States is 25 years old and under...40 percent is under 20!!!...every issue is read by more than 5,700,000 teen-age girls in the U.S....every other girl aged 13 through 19!<sup>79</sup>

Seventeen "...has a wide variety of interests in its pages..."<sup>80</sup> including military affairs. Out of a total of 21 items, ten were unfavorable (see Table 24). Even this small coverage

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<sup>77</sup>Katz, Magazines for Libraries, op. cit., p. 341.

<sup>78</sup>Scott, Periodicals for School Libraries, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>79</sup>Ford, Magazines for Millions, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>80</sup>Scott, op. cit., p. 36.

Table 23

Content Analysis Data for Glamour

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		1/1		
Military History		/1		
Militarism Draft		1/6		
Vietnam War	/1	2/5		
Personnel Leadership		/1		
Total	/1	4/14		

Table 24

Content Analysis Data for Seventeen

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		/1		1/
Military History		/1		
Militarism Draft	/1	/3	1/	
Vietnam War	1/3	1/	/1	/1
Personnel Career Leadership		1/ /1		1/
Incidents Kent State	1/	1/1		
Total	2/4	3/7	1/1	2/1

emphasized the two major youth issues, the Vietnam War and the Draft. Four of its six favorable items were letters from readers.

#### MAGAZINE COMPARISON

Table 25 lists the magazines in order of their favorable/unfavorable item ratios. True fell exactly on the 1/1 dividing line. Relative location in the table was only significant for those magazines whose military affairs coverage was large enough to provide a satisfactory representative sample, e.g. Reader's Digest and Playboy. The ratio for Argosy or Cosmopolitan was based on so few items it could not be used for a useful comparison. Reader's Digest and U.S. News & World Report were the only general editorial magazines with ratios greater than one.

#### SUBJECT AREA COMPARISON

Table 26 shows the relative popularity of all subject areas. The Vietnam War had no close competition for the leading position. All the Incidents were fairly high on the list, My Lai having the most items. This is due to both the intensity of national interest over the event as well as the long period of controversy and military litigation, still ongoing as of this time. This was in contrast with the Green Beret incident which experienced a relatively brief existence as a topic of national interest. The governments' refusal to carry out any legal action against the participants removed the incident from the front page rather quickly. Several of the subject areas were relatively new, e.g. Ecology and Civilian Spying, and their low position

Table 25

## Magazine Favorable/Unfavorable Item Ratios

<u>MAGAZINE (total number of items)</u>	<u>RATIO (favorable/unfavorable items)</u>
<u>Glamour</u> (19)	1/18.0
<u>Esquire</u> (80)	1/7.5
<u>Parents Magazine and</u> <u>Better Family Living</u> (9)	1/7.0
<u>Playboy</u> (289)	1/6.0
<u>Ladies' Home Journal</u> (13)	1/4.0
<u>Redbook</u> (15)	1/4.0
<u>Cosmopolitan</u> (5)	1/3.0
<u>Life</u> (320)	1/2.5
<u>Newsweek</u> (974)	1/2.4
<u>McCall's</u> (23)	1/2.1
<u>Look</u> (243)	1/1.8
<u>Time</u> (727)	1/1.6
<u>Seventeen</u> (21)	1/1.6
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<u>True</u> (61)	1/1.0
<u>Good Housekeeping</u> (19)	1/0.9
<u>Ebony</u> (114)	1/0.8
<u>Argoay</u> (8)	1/0.4
<u>U.S. News &amp; World Report</u> (637)	1/0.3
<u>Reader's Digest</u> (80)	1/0.2
<u>Popular Science</u> (40)	1/0.1
<u>Popular Mechanics</u> (20)	1/0.1

Table 26

## Subject Area Items

Subject Area	Number of Items
Vietnam War	1466
Arms Race	305
Draft	265
My Lai	169
Military-Industrial Complex	143
Leadership	109
War	98
Militarism	91
Career	87
Pueblo	85
Race Relations	82
Kent State	74
Military Justice	73
Dissent	71
Military History	71
POW	69
Foreign Policy Influence	63
Incidents	61
Military Budget	40
Green Berets	33
ROTC	33
Military-Academic Complex	30
CB Warfare	28
Drugs	23
All-Volunteer Army	21
Public Information	17
Ecology	17
Civil Action	15
Reserve Forces/National Guard	14
Strategic Intelligence	13
Military Academies	11
Education/Training	9
Military-Congressional Complex	7
Medical	5
Military Economy	5
Military Assistance	5
Civilian Spying	5
Military-Local Community Complex	2
Civil Defense	2

merely reflected the short time span during which they received national attention.

The favorable/unfavorable ratios for the subjects in the top two-thirds of Table 26, the most popular subjects, are listed in order in Table 27.

Public Information was the only popular subject that received solely unfavorable attention. It is significant that the Draft appears to be slightly more unpopular than the Vietnam War. This is not to imply that the ratios or the number of items devoted to any subject provide some type of exact scale. They do, however, allow for an analysis that is not totally subjective.

#### HUMOR

Magazines made relatively little editorial use of humor or satire. Reader's Digest ran a regular two page "Humor in Uniform" feature with five to ten jokes but in almost all of them the emphasis was strictly on humor. For many of the jokes, the military setting merely provided a suitable backdrop. This was also the case with the military jokes in the humor section of True. Look's "Look on the Light Side" was a full page of jokes and cartoons but few of them were devoted to the military. Playboy included many cartoons, some full page and in color, but for them, as well as the "Playboy's Party Jokes" section on the back of the centerfold, the emphasis was definitely not on the military.

Cartoons are of two general types, the editorial cartoon generally associated today with newspapers, and the illustrated joke.



Table 27

## Subject Area Favorable/Unfavorable Ratios

Subject Area	Favorable/Unfavorable Ratio
Public Information	0/13
War	1/9.7
Dissent	1/7.5
My Lai	1/5.5
Military-Academic Complex	1/4.5
Ecology	1/4.3
Military Justice	1/4.2
Green Berets	1/4.0
Pueblo	1/3.9
Incidents	1/3.3
Militarism	1/2.6
Drugs	1/2.5
CB Warfare	1/2.1
Race Relations	1/2.0
Draft	1/1.7
Vietnam War	1/1.4
ROTC	1/1.4
Kent State	1/1.3
-----	
Reserve Forces/National Guard	1/1.0
Military History	1/1.0
All-Volunteer Army	1/0.9
Foreign Policy Influence	1/0.9
Military-Industrial Complex	1/0.6
Arms Race	1/0.6
Career	1/0.5
Military Budget	1/0.4
Military Academies	1/0.4
POW	1/0.3
Leadership	1/0.3
Civic Action	1/0.3
Strategic Intelligence	1/0.2

The latter usually emphasized humor but sometimes included a subtle, or not so subtle, message. For example one cartoon in True showed two men walking down a Pentagon corridor with the caption:

Working here fulfills the dream I've always had--the possibility of helping defend protect and serve this great and beloved country of ours. Then of course there's always the opportunity to knock off other countries.<sup>81</sup>

And another in Playboy showed a Colonel at a press briefing: "Now, get this straight, because we're tired of being misquoted in the press. We authorize only accidental flights over Communist China."<sup>82</sup>

Esquire contained only one cartoon with military significance and it was categorized as neutral. Its "Annual Dubious Achievements Awards" included some humor but of the type probably classified as "socially significant".

Many magazines had no jokes or cartoons at all. Perhaps the present cartoon situation was best described by Esquire editor, Harold Hayes, "The form was wearing out. The great days of cartooning--the 30s and the 40s have passed."<sup>83</sup> Unlike the newspapers, newsmagazines did not run cartoons as a regular feature.<sup>84</sup> The few they did include

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<sup>81</sup>Cartoon, L, 388 (September 1969), 102.

<sup>82</sup>Cartoon, XVI, 12 (December 1969), 274.

<sup>83</sup>Press, "Cartoon Time," Newsweek, LXXII, 26 (December 23, 1968), 56-57.

<sup>84</sup>"The [New York] Times is the only major daily in the country that does not run an editorial cartoon. 'We try to be strong,' says [editorial page editor John] Oakes. 'A cartoon, if its good, has to be unfair'." Press, "On the Only Hand...", Newsweek, LXXIII, 24 (June 16, 1969), 90.

Table 28

## Cartoon Content Analysis Data

Subject Area	Number of Items (Excerpts)*			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		2		7
Militarism		5		6
Arms Race		4		1
Draft				1
Military-Industrial Complex		1		1
Foreign Policy				
Influence		1		
Military Budget		1		
Vietnam War		21		3
Personnel				
Dissent		2		
Incidents		1		1
<u>Puebla</u>		1		
My Lai		2		
Total		41		20

\*With the exception of two full page cartoons in Playboy.

were generally reprints from newspapers. This was a reversal of history. Cartoons were first used in magazines in 1754, while newspaper usage did not begin until 1884.<sup>85</sup>

The content analysis included 61 cartoons (see Table 28) in

<sup>85</sup>Benjamin Franklin's Pennsylvania Gazette is credited as the originator. Curtis D. MacDougall, Understanding Public Opinion (Dubuque: William C. Brown Co., 1966), pp. 538-540.

twelve areas. The following analysis probably explained the one-sided unfavorable results:

...cartoons are pictorial editorials published with the timely purpose of influencing reader's opinions regarding the contents of news columns. These characters are recognizable, usually labeled caricatures of real persons in the news and/or symbols representing individuals, groups (including nations), issues and ideas. Usually they satirize, ridicule, or in some other way attack something; seldom do they praise or exalt except for the purpose of belittling someone or something else.<sup>86</sup>

The ones included in the neutral category simply emphasized humor with no apparent military affairs message, subtle or otherwise. As could have been expected, the Vietnam War was the dominant subject area with no strong contender for second place. The distribution, by magazine:

<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF MILITARY AFFAIRS CARTOONS</u>
<u>Newsweek</u>	19
<u>Playboy</u>	13
<u>Time</u>	11
<u>True</u>	6
<u>Ebony</u>	5
<u>Look</u>	4
<u>Ladies' Home Journal</u>	2
<u>Esquire</u>	1

showed that less than half of the magazines in the analysis contained military affairs cartoons. Newsweek made the most frequent use of them to supplement news reports and all of those that were used fit into the satirical pattern described above. They were unfavorable.

No calibrating machine has been invented to record the extent or intensity of the effect of cartoons any more than it is possible

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 538.

to measure exactly the impact of any other factor in the determination of public opinion. Nevertheless, there is enough empirical evidence to establish the fact of the historical and contemporary importance of this form of graphic journalism.<sup>87</sup>

Even with the overwhelming unfavorable treatment provided by the cartoons they were not considered to be a significant vehicle for transmitting magazine editorial opinion. "Americans like a good laugh, even at the expense of the Navy (or any other service)..."<sup>88</sup> This factor and their infrequent use tended to reduce the cartoons' influence on public opinion.<sup>89</sup>

Philip Roth wrote a satire on the Vietnam War and Playboy included one about the Pueblo incident<sup>90</sup> but this writing technique was infrequently used and was of no significance in the content analysis.

#### LETTERS

One standard feature that distinguishes magazines from the other print media is the "Letters to the Editor" section.

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>Derek Shearer, "The Brass Image," Nation, CCX, 15 (April 20, 1970), 462.

<sup>89</sup>"A Modest Proposal," Look, XXXIV, 20 (October 6, 1970), 98-100.

<sup>90</sup>Jacob Ray, "The Passaic Affair," XVI, 9 (September 1969), 199-202. This was a fiction piece and therefore not included in the content analysis. The story was an account of the Navy's loss off Montauk Point of the U.S.S. Passaic, a garbage barge, to a Toms River, N. J. junk dealer.

Most of the magazines included in the analysis contained this feature under a variety of titles: (see Table 29). The results of the content analysis data for letters arranged by magazine, and subject area are given in Tables 30 and 31.<sup>91</sup> Letters represented 30 percent of the total items included in the analysis.

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>NUMBER OF LETTERS</u>	<u>PERCENT OF TOTAL LETTERS</u>
Favorable	320	29.2
Unfavorable	620	55.6
Balanced	22	2.0
Neutral	147	13.2

The favorable/unfavorable ratio of approximately 1/2 may indicate a high degree of military disfavor among magazine readers. The letters, however, were selected by the magazine editors and might just as readily represent their opinion as well as that of the readers. In either case, the highly unfavorable ratio was significant. For some subject areas it was considerably higher than 1/2. The following subject areas with more than fifteen letters had the most unfavorable ratios:

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<sup>91</sup>A Life article composed of 47 letters and short interviews concerning My Lai was not included in the letter data. It was unfavorable overall.

Table 29

## Magazine Letter Departments

<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>LETTERS DEPARTMENT</u>
<u>Argosy</u>	Backtalk
<u>Ebony</u>	Letters to the Editor
<u>Esquire</u>	The Sound and the Fury
<u>Glamour</u>	Readers Opinions
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	Sincerely Yours
<u>Life</u>	Letters to the Editor
<u>Look</u>	Letters to the Editor
<u>McCall's</u>	McCall's Mailbox
<u>Newsweek</u>	Letters
<u>Parent's Magazine and Better Family Living</u>	Letters
<u>Playboy</u>	The Playboy Forum and Dear Playboy
<u>Popular Mechanics</u>	Letters to the Editor
<u>Popular Science</u>	PS Readers Talk Back
<u>Redbook</u>	Letters to the Editor
<u>Seventeen</u>	Your Letters
<u>Time</u>	Letters
<u>True</u>	Truely yours

Table 30  
Letter Content Analysis Data

Magazine	Number of Letters			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
<u>Newsweek</u>	64	147	5	26
<u>Time</u>	76	108	8	27
<u>Playboy</u>	34	150	1	17
<u>Life</u>	41	85	3	37
<u>Look</u>	55	62	1	24
<u>Ebony</u>	23	30	1	9
<u>Esquire</u>	4	11	1	2
<u>True</u>	8	8		3
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	5	4	1	
<u>McCall's</u>	6	4		
<u>Redbook</u>	3	6		
<u>Seventeen</u>	4	2		1
<u>Popular Science</u>		2	1	1
<u>Popular Mechanics</u>		1		
<u>Glamour</u>	1	1		
Total	374	621	22	147



Table 31  
Letter Subject Area Content Analysis Data

Subject Area	Number of Letters			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War	5	14		2
Military History	8	6	1	
Militarism	10	20		10
Draft	33	49	1	17
Arms Race	3	30	3	8
Military-Industrial Complex	3	17	1	5
ROTC	9	3		2
Reserve Forces/ National Guard	4	2		2
CB Warfare	2	6		
Ecology	2	4	1	
All-Volunteer Army	2	5		
Military Academies	2	2		
Military-Academic Complex	2	1		1
Military Budget		2		2
Foreign Policy Influence	1	1		1
Public Information		2		
Strategic Intelligence	1			1
Vietnam War	128	219	6	65
POW	17	10		
Personnel				
Military Justice	12	41	2	2
Dissent	5	42		
Race Relations	11	28		8
Career	9	12	1	1
Leadership	9	8		
Drugs	4	10		
Education/Training	2	1	1	
Incidents	3	4		6
Rueblo	4	21		4
My Lai	8	34	5	4
Kent State	21	10		1
Green Berets	4	10		1
Total	324	621	22	147

<u>SUBJECT AREA</u>	<u>FAVORABLE/UNFAVORABLE RATIO</u>
Arms Race	1/10
Dissent	1/8.5
Military-Industrial Complex	1/5.5
<u>Pueblo</u>	1/5
My Lai	1/4
Military Justice	1/3.5
War	1/3
Race Relations	1/2.5
Militarism	1/2
Vietnam War	1/2
Draft	1/1.5

Dissent gained its high position because of letters in Playboy (3 favorable, 34 unfavorable). Eight subject areas (Military History, Military-Academic Complex, ROTC, Reserve Forces/National Guard, POW, Leadership, Education/Training and Kent State) had ratios greater than unity.

The Vietnam War was by far, the most "popular" subject, followed by the Draft, Military Justice, Race Relations, Dissent and the Arms Race.

As could be expected for letters, those in the balanced and neutral category were in the minority. Most letter writers generally attack or support something they have read in an earlier issue of the magazine. Very few letters dealt with factual corrections or pointed out typographical errors. Many of the letters were much more vehement

than the normal magazine items. This factor also is important when it is considered that their publication may provide an indirect means of expressing editorial opinion.

The largest discrepancies between the results for letters and those for the complete content analysis were in four areas:

<u>SUBJECT AREA</u>	<u>FAVORABLE/UNFAVORABLE RATIO</u>	
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>LETTERS</u>
Arms Race	1/0.6	1/10
Military-Industrial Complex	1/0.6	1/5.5
ROTC	1/1.4	1/0.3
Kent State	1/1.3	1/0.5

The Arms Race difference is primarily due to the large proportion of favorable items contained in U.S. News & World Report. With this magazine, which has no letters section, excluded, the ratios come closer but the letters still reflect a more unfavorable view.

As noted in Chapter III the coverage of the Military-Industrial Complex in Popular Science and Popular Mechanics was heavily weighted on the favorable side. With their content excluded, the difference between ratios is narrowed but again leaving the letters with the lower value.

No single magazine influenced the ROTC results. The difference is not large but does indicate that it was not a cause without a champion. The difference may also reflect in smaller measure the divergence of opinion noted in the Kent State incident. Two recent books about the Kent State incident have noted the depth of hostility on the part of the public against student radicals. It was described

in a review of Kent State, What Happened and Why?

The most startling and depressing passages in James Michener's account of the Kent State tragedy are not those about the killing of four students one year ago (he deals with that almost matter-of-factly), but those wherein he records the hate and anger--against a whole student generation--that surfaced afterward.<sup>92</sup>

This same phenomenon was noted in 13 Seconds: Confrontation at Kent State.

General Del Corso [Adjutant General of the Ohio National Guard] reported that the mail received by his office was running fifteen to one in approval of National Guard performance during campus disturbances in Ohio.<sup>93</sup>

This anti-student attitude was apparently reflected in the Kent State letter results and provided one indication that letters may in some cases express views at variance with editorial opinion.

#### BOOK REVIEWS

Among the magazines included in the content analysis only the following ten included a book review department.

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<sup>92</sup>Books, "Outer Darkness," Time, XCVII, 18 (May 3, 1971), 90-93. The final sentence of this review provides an example, unfortunately not unique, of interrelating military subjects on an extremely tenuous basis. "Triggers were not pulled accidentally, either at My Lai or at Kent State."

<sup>93</sup>Joe Eszterhas and Michael D. Roberts (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1970), pp. 302-303.

<u>Magazine</u>	<u>Book Review Department</u>
<u>Life</u>	Life Book Review
<u>Look</u>	Looking at Books
<u>Time</u>	Books
<u>Newsweek</u>	Books
<u>Ebony</u>	Ebony Book Shelf
<u>Cosmopolitan</u>	COSMO Reads the New Books
<u>Playboy</u>	Books
<u>Esquire</u>	Books
<u>True</u>	Trueviews: Books
<u>Glamour</u>	Books

One of these, Esquire, did not have any reviews that involved a military affairs subject. Only 79 reviews were included (see Table 32) and these represented 68 different books (see Table 33). Some reviews included more than one book. However, most books received only one review.

Reviewing books involves a greater degree of selectivity than reviewing movies.

The book-reviewing industry never touches most of the approximately 15,000 trade books (i.e. books theoretically sold in general bookstores) published annually in the U.S. Only the lucky few get noticed at all.<sup>94</sup>

There were a few reviews of the books listed in Table 33 that were not included in the content analysis because these reviews did not reflect on any aspect of military affairs. Reviewers often used their

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<sup>94</sup>Books, "The Reviewers," Newsweek, LXXIV, 6 (August 11, 1969), 76.

allotted space to express personal opinions as well as explain the contents of the particular book they were reviewing. Lack of bias did not appear to be the book-reviewing industry's most prominent virtue.

Table 32

## Book Review Content Analysis Data

Magazine	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
<u>Newsweek</u>	/1	2/15	/4	/2
<u>Time</u>	/2	3/5	/4	1/1
<u>Playboy</u>		/15		/1
<u>Life</u>	1/	1/6		/1
<u>Look</u>	1/	/2		
<u>Ebony</u>	/2			
<u>True</u>		/3		/3
<u>Glamour</u>		1/1		
<u>Cosmopolitan</u>				/1
Total	2/5	7/47	/8	1/9

Table 33

## Content Analysis book Reviews

<u>Title, Author</u>	<u>Number of Reviews</u>
<u>The American Fighting Men</u> , Victor Hicken	1
<u>American Power and the New Mandarins</u> , Noam Chomsky	1
<u>The Battle for Morningside Heights</u> , Roger Kahn	1
<u>The Bomb and the Computer</u> , Andrew Wilson	1
<u>Casualties of War</u> , Daniel Lang	1
<u>Catch-22</u> , Joseph Heller	1
<u>Confirm or Deny</u> , Phil Goulding	1
<u>Decent and Indecent</u> , Benjamin Spock	1
<u>The Dirty Wars</u> , Robinson	1
<u>The End of the Draft</u> , Thomas Reeves and Karl Hess	1
<u>The Essence of Security</u> , Robert McNamara	1
<u>Face of North Vietnam</u> , Marc Reboud	1
<u>GI Rights and Army Justice: The Draftee's Guide to Military Life and Law</u> , Robert S. Rivkin	1
<u>GIs Speak Out Against the War</u> , Fred Halstead	1
<u>Grant Takes Command</u> , Bruce Catton	1
<u>Great Weapons Heresies</u> , Thomas W. Wilson	1
<u>A History of Warfare</u> , Field Marshall Montgomery	1
<u>Ho Chi Minh: A Political Biography</u> , Jean Lacouture	1
<u>If This Be Treason</u> , Franklin Stevens	1
<u>The Information War</u> , Dale Minor	1
<u>Integration of the Negro in the U.S. Armed Forces</u> , Richard J. Stillman	1
<u>The Killing Zone</u> , William C. Woods	1

<u>The Last Detail</u> , Darryl Ponicsan	1
<u>Mastering the Draft</u> , Andrew O. Shapiro and John M. Striker	1
<u>The Military Half</u> , Jonathan Shell	1
<u>Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy</u> , Telford Taylor	1
<u>Negro Troops of Antebellum Louisiana</u> , Roland C. McConnell	1
<u>Night Flight to Hanoi</u> , Daniel Berrigan	1
<u>The Papers of Dwight Eisenhower: The War Years</u> , Alfred D. Chandler	1
<u>Pentagon Capitalism</u> , Seymour Melman	1
<u>Present at the Creation</u> , Dean Acheson	1
<u>The President Steps Down</u> , George Christian	1
<u>The Pueblo Incident</u> , Daniel V. Gallery	1
<u>Report from Wasteland</u> , William Proxmire	1
<u>The Road from War: Vietnam 1965-1970</u> , Robert Shaplen	1
<u>Saigon 7</u> , H. T. Damson	1
<u>Saigon, U.S.A.</u> , Alfred Hessler	1
<u>The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam</u> , David Kraslow and Stuart Loory	1
<u>Slaughterhouse Five or the Children's Crusade</u> , Kurt Vonnegut	1
<u>Time Out of Hand: Revolution and Reaction in Southeast Asia</u> , Robert Shaplen.	1
<u>To the War</u> , Robert E. Lee	1
<u>The Traitors</u> , John Briley	1
<u>The Unlawful Concert: An Account of the Presidio Mutiny Case</u> , Fred Gardner	1



Table 33 (continued)

<u>Unless Peace Comes</u> , Nigel Calder	1
<u>The Violent Peace</u> , Carl & Shelly Mydans	1
<u>War is Heaven</u> , D. Keith Mano	1
<u>The War Business</u> , George Thayer	1
<u>War Without Heroes</u> , David Duncan	1
<u>West Point: The Men and Times of the United States Military Academy</u> , Thomas Fleming	1
<u>When the War is Over</u> , Stephen Becker	1
<u>An Eye for the Dragon: Southeast Asia Observed: 1954-1970</u> , Dennis Bloodworth	2
<u>At War with Asia</u> , Noam Chomsky	2
<u>The Bamboo Bed</u> , William Eastlake	2
<u>The Bitter Woods</u> , John Eisenhower	2
<u>Bomber</u> , Len Deighton	2
<u>In the Service of their Country: War Resisters in Prison</u> , Willard Gaylin	2
<u>A Matter of Accountability: The True Story of the Pueblo Affair</u> , Trevor Armbrister	2
<u>Military Men</u> , Ward Just	2
<u>Military Justice is to Justice as Military Music is to Music</u> , Robert Sherwill	2
<u>One Morning in the War</u> , Richard Hammer	2
<u>Points of Rebellion</u> , William Douglas	2
<u>A Sense of Dark</u> , William Malliol	2
<u>Up Against the Brass</u> , Andy Stapp	2
<u>The Armies of the Night</u> , Norman Mailer	3
<u>My Lai 4</u> , Seymour Hersh	3
<u>My Story</u> , Lloyd M. Bucher	4
<u>The Trial of Dr. Spock</u> , Jessica Mitford	4

Magazine reviews are not as significant to the book trade as coverage in the New York Times or the New York Review of Books. A book publisher was quoted by Newsweek concerning this emphasis.

I can have the lead review in Time and Newsweek both and it doesn't mean what a review in the [New York] Times [Book Review] means, and getting a review on the front page-- that's it...70 percent of my advertising budget goes into the Sunday Times!<sup>95</sup>

Only 17 books received more than one review and The Trial of Dr. Spock and My Story were tied for first place with four apiece.

The breakdown by subject in Table 34 shows the Vietnam War, War, Military History and the Draft to be the most "popular" subjects. The overall favorable/unfavorable ratio of 1/7.7 was not so much a reflection of the reviews themselves as it was of the book selection. Few of the selected books expressed a favorable view of military affairs.

The American Fighting Man, a book which was aimed at, "... sparing none of his faults, and emphasizing all of his virtues",<sup>96</sup> received only one review, while Up Against the Brass, a book with a much less favorable aim, received two. Anti-war and anti-Vietnam books were well represented. In The Service of Their Country: War Resisters in Prison and If This Be Treason were typical of a new class of books whose heroes fight against military service, not in it.

Although the selection was heavily weighed with books

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<sup>95</sup>Books, "Book Power," LXXVI, 18 (November 2, 1970), 114.

<sup>96</sup>Victor Hicken, The American Fighting Man (New York: Macmillan Co., 1969), p. viii.

Table 34

## Book Review Subject Area Content Analysis Data

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		/7	/2	/5
Military History	/1	/3	/3	
Militarism	1/2			/1
Arms Race	1/	/3		
Military-Industrial Complex		/1		
Draft		1/5		
Military Academies	/1			
Public Information		/1	/1	
Military-Academic Complex		/1		
Foreign Policy Influence		/1		
Vietnam War	1/	3/13	/2	/3
Personnel				
Race	/1			
Leadership	/2	/1		
Military Justice		/2		
Career		/1		
Dissent		/2		
Incidents				
<u>Pueblo</u>		1/3		
My Lai		1/1		
Total	2/5	7/47	/8	/9

unfavorable toward the military this probably reflected the actual imbalance in the book trade. There were books published during this period that supported the military, e.g. The Conscience of a Majority, Barry Goldwater and America Is in Danger, Curtis E. Le. May. Such pro-military books were not reviewed but they were no doubt in the minority.<sup>97</sup> Even reviews of favorable books occasionally took unfavorable turns. A Newsweek review of The Bitter Woods provided an example:

...from another perspective, the Ardennes was an unspeakable tragedy for both sides, costing 176,000 casualties, and the ingenuity and bravery of soldiers is a hollow theme compared with the human suffering and mindless waste and destruction it entails. But that perspective is not John Eisenhower's perspective.<sup>98</sup>

Very few took this inverted approach with unfavorable books. One Life reviewer who did, refuted the ABM costs cited by William Douglas and added the comment that, "...I suspect that many readers will find it impossible to take anything in Points of Rebellion very seriously."<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup>The imbalance in one area is demonstrated by the following comparison. A recent book written in defense of the military-industrial complex was seen by the author as, "...a lonely book compared to the stacks of volumes and articles that would tear away this protective cover of defense provided by the military-industrial complex." John S. Baumgartner, The Lonely Warriors (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1970), p. vi.

While a reviewer of a book critical of the same subject felt compelled to begin, "So many books on the military-industrial complex have been appearing these days that one more hardly seems necessary." Books, Playboy, review of Pentagon Capitalism, XVII, 8 (August 1970), 24..

<sup>98</sup>Books, "Glorious Bulge," LXXIII, 4 (January 27, 1969), 92.

<sup>99</sup>Daniel Seligman, "Life Comment: Revolution, Rant and Justice Douglas," XLVIII, 16 (May 1, 1970), 4.

Military affairs remains a popular book topic and the number of books reviewed during the content analysis time period was fairly large. Yet few military books received awards or achieved best seller status. Armies of the Night was the only one. It received a 1968 National Book Award for Arts and Letters.<sup>100</sup> Time's preassessment of the exceptional members of the 1969 class of outstanding novels included only one with a military theme, Slaughterhouse Five or the Childrens Crusade, based on the fire bombing of Dresden.<sup>101</sup>

#### MOVIE REVIEWS

More than half of the magazines included in the content analysis offered movie reviews as a regular feature (see Table 35). Movies are often considered to provide only entertainment. That, no doubt, is their prime function. However,

...motion pictures are always not only entertainment but editorial comment as well. What goes into a film must always be selected and organized and presented so that there is one rather than another set of scenes and emphasis. Every act, every actor in a film depicts implicitly or explicitly a set of values.<sup>102</sup>

Even if the movies themselves contained no particular message, reviewers often made use of the opportunity to provide one of their own.

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<sup>100</sup>Books, "Books of the Year," Newsweek, LXXIII, 12 (March 24, 1969), 104. Another book, Death in Life, a psychological study of the Hiroshima survivors received the award in science but had no reviews in the content analysis.

<sup>101</sup>Books, "The Year of the Novel," XCIII, 1 (January 3, 1969), 66.

<sup>102</sup>John N. Powell, Anatomy of Public Opinion (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1951), p. 280.

Table 35

## Content Analysis Magazines with a Movie Section

<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>DEPARTMENT</u>
<u>Life</u>	Life Movie Review
<u>Look</u>	Look at the Movies
<u>Time</u>	Cinema
<u>Newsweek</u>	Movies
<u>Cosmopolitan</u>	COSMO goes to the Movies
<u>Playboy</u>	Movies
<u>True</u>	Trueviews; Movies
<u>Argosy</u>	Argosy at the Movies
<u>Esquire</u>	Films
<u>Ladies' Home Journal</u>	What's Happening
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	Movie Report
<u>Parent's Magazine &amp; Better Family Living</u>	Family Movie Guide
<u>Glamour</u>	Movies
<u>Seventeen</u>	Spotlight--At the Movies

The overall results of the movie reviews included in the content analysis were decidedly unfavorable. (See Table 36).

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>PERCENT OF TOTAL ITEMS</u>
Favorable	6.7
Unfavorable	64.0
Balanced	10.6
Neutral	18.7

The categorization was necessarily based on the content of the review and not the movie. But movies such as MASH and Patton provided apt vehicles for military affairs comment as well as the normal concerns of a review: acting, film quality, dialogue, etc. Neither did the categorization necessarily reflect the reviewer's opinion of the movie. Several unfavorable reviews criticized Catch-22 for not being as effective an antiwar presentation as the book on which it was based.

In addition to reviews, the content analysis included several news and feature items about the films Catch-22 and The Green Berets. These are not included in Table 36.

The movies and number of their reviews are listed in Table 37. The magazines included other reviews for some of these same movies which were not included in the analysis because they did not explicitly address any aspect of military affairs.

Table 36

## Movie Review Subject Area Content Analysis Data

Subject Area	Number of Items (Articles/Excerpts)			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Neutral
War		3/16		3/3
Military History	/3	1/10	/2	1/3
Militarism		/5	/1	/2
Vietnam War		1/4	/1	/2
Personnel	/2	2/6	/4	
Total	/5	7/41	/8	4/10



Table 37

## Content Analysis Movie Reviews

<u>MOVIE TITLE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF REVIEWS</u>
Patton	11
Catch-22	10
Oh! What a Lovely War	7
MASH	6
The Green Berets	4
The Sergeant	4
Soldier Blue	4
Carry It On	3
Tora! Tora! Tora!	3
The Charge of the Light Brigade	2
Greetings	2
Hail Hero	2
In the Year of the Pig	2
Kelly's Heroes	2
Where Eagles Dare	2
The Bed Sitting Room	1
The Bridge at Remagen	1
Castle Keep	1
The Devil's Brigade	1
The Forbin Project	1
Hell in the Pacific	1
Ice Station Zebra	1
Little Big Man	1
Terry Whitmore, for Example	1
Too Late the Hero	1

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We must do everything in our power to insure that the mental picture Americans have of the Army is that of a winner--an efficient, dynamic, dedicated and socially progressive organization.<sup>1</sup>

General William Westmoreland

### CONCLUSIONS

The twenty-one national magazines included in the content analysis did not present a completely balanced view of military affairs during the 1968-1970 time period. The number of unfavorable items was greater than the number of favorable ones by 12.6 percent. When consideration of circulation differences was included in the composite analysis the imbalance was slightly increased. The number of unfavorable items multiplied by the circulation of the magazine in which they appeared was greater by 14.5 percent than that of the favorable ones multiplied by their appropriate circulation values. This represented a difference of over 2.2 billion item-copies.

When the distinction between the two types of research items (articles versus excerpts) was included in the analysis by applying a weighting factor to articles, the balance between favorable and unfavorable items was gradually restored as the value of the weighting

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<sup>1</sup>Business and Finance, "The Military-Industrial Complex," Newsweek, LXXIII, 23 (June 9, 1969), 74.

factor was increased. A "conservative" value of four, based only on relative magazine space, reduced the difference between favorable and unfavorable items to 5.8 percent. When the factor was increased to ten the difference was further reduced to 2.1 percent. In order to reach an exact favorable/unfavorable balance each article would have to have been given a relative value of 28.8. A reasonable value, accounting for both space and format differences, would probably lie somewhere between four and ten. In any case, 28.8 was considered excessive. Therefore the balance remained somewhat unfavorable even after a subjectively reasonable adjustment for unit differences was applied.

A final adjusted view of the basic data was provided by an academic weighting value derived from the judgment and reference ratings contained in the book, Magazines for Libraries. The number of items from each magazine were multiplied by a weighting value that ranged from two to seven. The results were almost identical with those obtained from the basic data.

Much of the recent military criticism had been attributed to the Vietnam War. When the Vietnam War subject data was eliminated from the tabulation the overall results changed only slightly. The difference between the favorable and unfavorable categories was reduced by only 0.2 percent. The overall unfavorable balance in military affairs coverage was not directly dependent upon Vietnam War criticism.

Grouping the data by six month intervals showed an almost uninterrupted trend of increasing imbalance. The increase from

1.9 percent, for the July-December 1968 time period, to 23.5 percent, for the July-December 1970 time period, indicated a steady deterioration in the magazine presentation of the military and could presage a further downturn in its public image if extrapolated into the future.

The polarity of the results increased considerably when the analysis was extended to the individual magazines and separate military affairs topics. The ratio of favorable to unfavorable items ranged from 1/18 for Glamour magazine to 1/0.2 for the Strategic Intelligence subject subarea. The variation among magazines and subject areas indicated that the results were both source and topic dependent. All the national magazines did not portray the same picture of the military and the various facets of military affairs were presented with varying positions of balance. Several magazines were strongly on the favorable or unfavorable side and only one provided an exact balance.

The examination of letters to the editor indicated approximately the same degree of balance for each subject area as the magazines themselves, with only a few exceptions. Letters did not reflect any significant differences in the reader versus editor view of military affairs. Since these letters were also selected by the editors for publication such a result was not unexpected. Similarly, the results for cartoons (67 percent unfavorable, none favorable) was expected because of the very nature of this type of coverage. Humor was not a significant editorial factor since a total of only 102 cartoons was used, and some of these were political.

The final comparison examined the results for book and movie reviews. The favorable/unfavorable ratio was low for both.

<u>TYPE OF REVIEW</u>	<u>FAVORABLE (%)</u>	<u>UNFAVORABLE (%)</u>
Book	8.9	68.4
Movie	6.7	64.0

If these reviews are considered to provide an indirect reflection of the book and movie media, it appears that the presentation of the military in these media was far more unbalanced than that in the national magazines. If this is so, the magazine results, even though unfavorably balanced, must be considered as presenting a somewhat more optimistic picture from a military point of view.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

Various facets of military affairs received both favorably and unfavorably balanced magazine coverage. It is, therefore, recommended that those topics which received the lowest favorable to unfavorable ratios (see Table 27) be examined for possible image improvement. It appears reasonable that effort devoted to enhancing these low image areas will prove more advantageous than further improvement in areas that already receive more favorable coverage.

Since content analyses of this type are not available for past years it is not possible to compare results. Similar data for earlier time periods would permit a more meaningful assessment of the 1968-1970 results. It is recommended that additional content analyses be made for earlier time periods, e.g., 1948-1950 and 1958-1960, in order to permit identification of trends and provide useful comparative data.

The Army will soon complete an extensive trial program of paid advertising as part of the preparation for the All-Volunteer Army. Some of these advertisements were carried in the magazine media. It is recommended that content analysis, similar to this thesis, be performed prior to placing such magazine advertisements in the future. This is not recommended as a control measure, but to avoid the distinct unfavorable polarity of military affairs coverage which in some magazines might tend to cancel any desired effect of a military advertisement.

## APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

1970 AYER DIRECTORY PERIODICAL SUBJECT CATEGORIES<sup>1</sup>

Amusements  
Arts and Antiques  
Astrology  
Automotive  
Aviation  
Babies  
Brides  
Business Executives  
Children's Interest  
Clubs and Societies  
Comics and Comic Technique  
Crafts, Models, Hobbies and Contests  
Dogs  
Dramatic and Theatrical  
Dressmaking and Needlework  
Educational  
Export Consumer Magazines  
Fashion  
General Editorial  
Home and Garden  
Literature  
Mature Age  
Men's  
Motion Pictures  
Music  
Occult  
Parent-Teacher and Children  
Photographic  
Poetry  
Radio and Television  
Society  
Sports  
Travel and Tourism  
Women's Publications  
Youth

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<sup>1</sup>Leonard Bray (ed.) (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, 1970).



# APPENDIX B

## MAGAZINE CIRCULATION STATISTICS

CIRCULATION (100 thousand)	NUMBER OF MAGAZINES				
	<u>General Editorial</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women's Publications</u>	<u>Youth</u>	<u>Total</u>
0-1	43	4	6	7	62
1-2	15	13	7	3	38
2-3	7	4	1	3	15
3-4	6	1	-	1	8
4-5	4	-	2	2	8
5-6	4	-	-	2	6
6-7	-	1	-	2	3
7-8	1	-	1	1	3
8-9	-	-	-	-	-
-----CIRCULATION CRITERIA CUTOFF-----					
9-10	1	-	-	1	2
10-20	6	2	1	3	12
20-30	3	2	1	1	7
30-40	1	-	-	-	1
40-50	1	-	-	-	1
50-60	-	1	1	-	2
60-70	2	-	3	-	5
70-80	1	-	-	-	1
80-90	1	-	1	-	2
90-100	-	-	-	-	-
100+	2	-	1	-	3
Total	100	28	25	26	179

Source: Leonard Bray (ed.), 1970 Area Directory.

# APPENDIX C

## U. S. PERIODICALS WITH CIRCULATIONS GREATER THAN 900 THOUSAND

PERIODICAL	CIRCULATION	SUBJECT CATEGORY
<u>Reader's Digest</u>	17,585,611	General Editorial
<u>Parade</u>	14,294,323	General Editorial
<u>Homemaker's Digest</u>	10,000,000	Women's Publications
<u>McCall's Magazine</u>	8,544,899	Women's Publications
<u>Life</u>	8,535,874	General Editorial
<u>Look</u>	7,800,531	General Editorial
<u>Ladies' Home Journal</u>	6,906,024	Women's Publications
<u>Woman's Day</u>	6,661,010	Women's Publications
<u>Family Circle</u>	6,505,106	Women's Publications
<u>National Geographic</u>	6,332,665	General Editorial
<u>Family Weekly</u>	6,296,912	General Editorial
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	5,716,429	Women's Publications
<u>Playboy</u>	5,262,432	Men's
<u>Redbook</u>	4,561,537	General Editorial
<u>Time</u>	4,164,021	General Editorial
<u>Farm Journal</u>	2,944,726	General Editorial
<u>Boy's Life</u>	2,655,498	Youth
<u>American Legion</u>	2,623,826	Men's
<u>Newsweek</u>	2,472,890	General Editorial
<u>True</u>	2,400,813	Men's
<u>Parent's Magazine and Better Family Living</u>	2,156,214	Women's Publications
<u>True Story Magazine</u>	2,153,862	General Editorial
<u>U. S. News &amp; World Report</u>	1,756,844	General Editorial
<u>Popular Mechanics</u>	1,711,561	General Editorial
<u>Popular Science Monthly</u>	1,662,305	General Editorial
<u>Seventeen</u>	1,514,880	Youth
<u>Glamour</u>	1,461,832	Women's Publications
<u>Scouting Magazine</u>	1,461,832	Youth
<u>New York Times Magazine</u>	1,443,738	General Editorial
<u>Argosy</u>	1,410,677	Men's & General Editorial
<u>Ebony</u>	1,176,375	General Editorial
<u>Esquire</u>	1,132,752	Men's
<u>Cosmopolitan</u>	1,100,680	General Editorial
<u>American Girl</u>	1,000,946	Youth
<u>Ingenua</u>	919,472	Youth
<u>National Scene</u>	900,000	General Editorial

Source: Leonard Bray (ed.), 1970 Auer Directory.

## APPENDIX D

### SUBJECT AREAS

To develop a set of subject areas with which to begin the magazine content analysis a selection of recent critical books was screened for topics. The books used, in chronological order of publication, were:

- A. 1962. The Warfare State, Fred J. Cook.
- B. 1964. The Armed Society, Tristan Coffin.
- C. 1964. The Military Establishment, John M. Swomley.
- D. 1965. The War System, Bert Cochran.
- E. 1969. How to Control the Military, John K. Galbraith.
- F. 1969. Scandal in the Pentagon, William McGaffin and Erwin Knoll, eds.
- G. 1969. American Militarism 1970, Erwin Knoll and Judith N. McFadden, eds.
- H. 1970. Report from Wasteland, William Proxmire.
- I. 1970. Military Men, Ward Just.

Table 38 indicates the occurrence of topics within each book. The books are identified by their letter as listed above. No attempt was made in the table to indicate the degree of emphasis placed upon any subject area by a single book. Some areas received only a sentence or two while others had several whole chapters devoted to them. Not all the books' content was critical. For example, John Swomley supported the All-Volunteer Armed Services concept and Tristan Coffin praised the leadership qualities of generals Omar Bradley and David Shoup. As recently as February 1971 Swomley testified before the Senate Armed Service Committee against the draft and in support of "voluntarism".<sup>1</sup>

The topics inclosed in parentheses are considered to be subtopics contained within the major topic with which they are listed. In addition, several general topics-Militarism, Vietnam War, Personnel, and Incidents-have a number of more specific subordinate topics listed under them.

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<sup>1</sup>Joe Lastelle, "Formula to End Draft," Kansas City Times, February 9, 1971, p. 2, col. 3.

TABLE 38

## MILITARY CRITICISM SUBJECT AREAS

SUBJECT AREA	BOOKS								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
War (Nuclear War)		x		x					
Military History (Pre-Vietnam War)		x			x				x
Militarism	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
All-Volunteer Army			x						x
Arms Race (ABM, ICBM, SLBM, and other strategic systems, Nuclear testing, Disarmament)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
CB Warfare			x						
Civil Defense	x			x	x				
Civilian Spying						x			x
Draft (Conscientious objectors, Deserters/resisters, Universal Military Training)	x		x						
Foreign Policy Influence (Overseas Bases, NATO, Okinawa, Berlin)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Interservice/Intraservice Rivalry	x			x		x			x
Military Academic Complex (Campus Research, Think Tanks)		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Military Academies		x	x						x
Military Assistance (Military Assistance Operations Program-MAOP)			x			x			x
Military Budget (Size/Management)		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Military-Congressional Complex	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Military Economy	x		x				x		
Military-Industrial Complex (Research & Development, Management, Procurement, Defense contractor hiring, Specific weapons systems)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Military-Local Community Complex	x			x		x			x
Military-Religious Complex			x						
Military-Right Wing Complex	x	x	x						
Public Information (Misuse of security, Public relations, Propaganda)	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Reserve Forces/National Guard ROTC	x		x						x
Strategic Intelligence		x				x			



# APPENDIX E

## 1971 CIRCULATION STATISTICS

<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>CIRCULATION (millions)</u>
<u>Reader's Digest</u>	17,829,224
<u>Mc Call's Magazine</u>	8,505,231
<u>Life</u>	8,526,708
<u>Look</u>	7,836,992
<u>Ladies' Home Journal</u>	7,007,077
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	5,673,875
<u>Playboy</u>	5,290,027
<u>Redbook</u>	4,694,685
<u>Time</u>	4,268,091
<u>Newsweek</u>	2,611,184
<u>True</u>	2,409,993
<u>Parent's Magazine and Better Family Living</u>	2,126,305
<u>U.S. News &amp; World Report</u>	1,878,321
<u>Popular Mechanics</u>	1,720,335
<u>Popular Science Monthly</u>	1,654,119
<u>Seventeen</u>	1,489,320
<u>Glamour</u>	1,442,920
<u>Argosy</u>	1,396,973
<u>Ebony</u>	1,239,796
<u>Esquire</u>	1,178,214
<u>Cosmopolitan</u>	1,231,694

Source: Leonard Bray (ed.), 1971 Aves Directory (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, 1971).

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